

A GENDERED ANALYSIS OF THE MEN'S AND WOMEN'S WORLD CUP
COMMENTARY: THE CONTINUATION OF MEN'S DOMINANCE IN THE
FOOTBALLING WORLD

Bethan Cate Sullivan

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of
Lincoln for the degree of MSc by Research for the School of Sport & Exercise
Science, College of Social Science

March 2019

Abstract

This study focused on the Men's and Women's World Cup looking into how gender is constructed within the commentary from the 2014 & 2015 tournaments. Football was used because football had been examined in a number of different ways, such as participation rates or newspaper coverage, but commentary hadn't been analysed in this way before. Using a combination of commentary and match reports, the narratives of the commentary was analysed to find out if there were any stylistic techniques that differed between the two sets of commentary.

These tournaments were used because of their proximity to each other and only at the group stages to keep as much continuity between the two sets of commentary as possible. A Foucauldian Discourse analysis was used to examine the World Cup match commentary because of its focus on the ideological content of language. This study found that there were notable differences in the narratives between the men's and women's matches.

The results showed that the historical impact of the men's game related to it being the nation's favourite sport. Men also build the image of a nation in relation to football as a symbol of England, with women taking a secondary place in football. The structure of the women's match commentary led them to be overtly feminized, the narratives in the women's games exaggerated stereotypical feminine qualities, such as reference to family and personal stories. These findings demonstrated a need for change in the way men's and women's match commentary is structured and delivered. There has already been a staggering change in the growth and perception of the women's game, but for the two to be considered equal, there are still hurdles that need to be overcome.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr Nik Dickerson for being a brilliant mentor throughout this process. He has helped me get back into University from having a difficult two years out as it was always my goal to come back and complete a Master's Degree, and I wouldn't have been able to do it without Nik. I feel that I have grown in myself, being able to cope better with stressful situations, and Nik has played a big part in that.

I would like to thank all of my friends and family including Emma White, who also started her Master's degree in 2016. We shared many Sunday afternoons continuously watching Harry Potter, which we both very much needed! My mum and dad who supplied me with countless lasagnes and chocolate cake, my dog Barney who knew when I needed a long walk at Oakwell, and to my friends back in Leeds for the much-needed weekend trips home.

Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: Literature Review	10
2.1 Discourses and how they are formed.....	10
2.2 The Development of Football in England	14
2.3 The media's role in the representation of athletes.....	17
Chapter 3: Method	31
3.1 Ethics	31
3.2 Data Collection - TV Commentary	32
3.3 Data Collection - Match Reports	33
3.4 Coding.....	34
3.5 Foucauldian Discourse Analysis.....	36
Chapter 4: Discussion of Results.....	37
4.1 Man, history, and the embodiment of nationalistic sport	37
4.1.1 Pressures influence on the game	41
4.2 Men as the builders of Nationhood	43
4.2.1 Women being compared to men	47
4.2.2 'The Lionesses'	49
4.3 The feminization of the England Women.....	50
4.3.1 The use of personal stories vs game commentary	54
4.3.2 Infantilisation.....	61
Chapter 5: Conclusion.....	65
5.1 Limitations	67
5.2 Further research	67
5.3 Final Thoughts	68
References	71

Chapter 1: Introduction

In England, men's football has historically linked men and masculinity to understandings of Englishness. Football was introduced in English public schools to discipline unruly boys in the second half of the 19th century (Pfister, 2015; Pfister, 2013). Football originally being introduced to give schools boys a way of channelling their behaviour. Giulianotti (1999) explains how games such as football were 'introduced as character-building, teaching virtues of leadership, loyalty and discipline, epitomizing the noble philosophy of men' (pg 3). Thus, football became a way to discipline boys into proper citizens. This logic was also adopted in Australia, using Rugby instead of football. The idea was that discipline would come through the cohesiveness of the team, building their masculine identity from this early age through their adolescence (Light, 2007). This meant that early forms of the modern game created a link between the sport and boys. Thus, these practices created a link between football and understandings of hegemonic masculinity. The sport of football has therefore been linked with English society for centuries.

Hegemonic masculinity is described in relation to the subordination of women and the promotion of dominant masculine behaviours (Messner, 1990; Hills, 2007). These stereotypical masculine behaviours legitimize their position in society and encourage the recurrence of these behaviours, for example power and strength. The football domain is a living example of this as it promotes the men's game and continues to segregate the women's game as secondary. Masculine behaviours are championed such as 'physical strength, large size, and aggressiveness' (Roth and Basow, 2004). Stereotypical behaviours such as this then become notorious with football and help to reinforce the game as a masculine pursuit for men. Stereotypical masculine behaviour has been ingrained in boy's behaviours from an early age in historical contexts and modern times. In recent times, sporting bodies and the media have taken the lead in propelling the notion of hegemonic masculinity, focusing on men's participation of women's in games such as football (Mall, 1996; Hills, 2007). Looking at the back pages of newspapers shows the dominance of football, but crucially the dominance of men's football. Masculine norms have woven their way into the English game by

focusing on qualities that are associated with men. Men's dominance in football is linked to men's supremacy in the rest of society. The link if football and society is embodied in the notion of the national image.

At the tail end of the 19th century international competition encouraged a rise in a sense of national community outside of war settings (Vincent et al, 2010; Crolley and Hand, 2006). From then into the 20th century, a sense of national pride was encouraged through sporting success. England's national identity saw a dramatic rise at the success of the England Rugby team winning the World Cup in 2003, followed further by the success of the Cricket in the Ashes beating Australia in 2005 (Vincent et al, 2010). Therefore, football had an essential role in creating a sense of community in England for the 2006 World Cup tournament. Modern nations depend on their 'imagined community' in order to promote what it means to be a part of that nation (Anderson, 1983; Giulianotti, 1999). An imagined community is made up of stereotypical actions and images that make up the culture of a nation. Therefore, the notion of being English has been constructed by the people and the culture that identifies them as part of that nation (Free, 2005). The people that are a part of England's nation believe they have a connection with other people and this creates their community. Football and the nation have become so interlinked through a continuous cycle of fandom and the media. This cycle of popularity had a negative effect on the women's game, pushing men's football to the forefront of what it means to be a part of England essentially makes men's football the ritual and women's as other.

In order to understand a nations tradition, the practices that surround that tradition need to be understood. Traditions are made up of a number of patterns or rituals that become a routine (Hobsbawn and Ranger, 2012). The patterns that traditions adhere to, whether old or new, assist the characterisation of a nation (Smith, 1998). These rituals create symbols that become associated with that tradition. Elite-male sport has a long history of contributing to understandings of nationhood (Carrington, 1998). The connection between England and the notion of tradition is linked

through the symbol of football. For England, football has become that pivotal image that is associated with being English which is able to build the image of the nation or break it. Jackson (2010) discussed the invented tradition of football began to make its mark on England in the 1880's. The narratives of a handful of clubs such as Bradford City and Crystal Palace met the needs of the nation arising from football's increased popularity in the 1900s (Jackson, 2010). Spaaij (2008) explains how men in football perform hard masculinity, with real men representing the heterosexual norm. This notion of performing toughness is then associated with the game, with masculine toughness being produced and reproduced on the football field adding to the football culture, which is then associated with English culture (Spaaij, 2008). All nations depend on powerful imagery to promote the ideal norm of their nation, this then propels men's football to the forefront before women's. Men's football encourages cultural practices that promote masculine identities that have become a symbol of the nation (Light, 2007). The cultural ramifications of this ensure men's football is represented as the norm, placing women's football as secondary.

Each nation has different symbols that distinguish it from other nations, it is the style in which those symbols are presented that affects the imagined community (Smith, 1998). For example, one of France's symbols is Le Tour de France (Campos, 2003). Football takes a similar role in Spain, being a part of their national image (McFarland, 2006). People within society become bound by the camaraderie they feel when they take part in these traditions (Smith, 1998). This definition of elite-male sport symbolically excludes women from being a part of the nation in the same way as men. Free (2005, pg 268) states that 'projections of national identity are predominantly gendered performances of masculinity meaning that depictions of nationality are mainly exhibited through men'. Therefore, men's football becomes symbolic of Englishness, due to the repetition of male elite sport.

The media helps to create and sustain these meanings of nationhood that are entwined with issues of gender, race (Lebel and Danylchuk, 2009; Kane, 1988). A central way this is done is

through the production and circulation of discourse. The discourses constructed by the media help us understand our social world (Burr, 1995). Discourses provide certain rules or permissions that regulate a social setting or an individual's actions, in other words a description of how they should act (Talbot, 1998). Thus, language becomes a primary way to communicate norms and values in relation to gender. For example, the term 'throwing like a girl' is described by Ross and Shinew (2008, pg 40) as being a 'simple, yet demeaning phrase' which is used as an insult to men.

'Throwing like a girl' connotes athletic skill with boys and men, while also suggesting the inferior athletic ability of women. Attitudes such as this add towards the representation of women as less capable than men in sporting situations.

Stereotypical beliefs about gender are usually the culprit of perceived norms that surround commentary in football. Ideologies are a system of ideals and beliefs and are a major part of what make up these stereotypes (McDowell and Schaffner, 2011). Therefore, the language used to communicate understandings of sport produce and reproduce gender ideology. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) describe ideologies as 'the system of beliefs by which people explain, account for, and justify their behaviour, and interpret and assess others' (pg 35). Ideologies also work towards creating discourses that are linked with football. These discourses then feed existing power regimes in places such as the media that also add towards the stereotypical influences of football (Caudwell, 2002; Jeanes, 2011). Power regimes consist of norms that make up what it means to be a part of that nation, which can be difficult to move against and change.

Football in England's society is represented in many aspects of everyday life, whether it be something as simple as turning the TV on and seeing the number of matches being shown. Match of the Day is one the major TV shows that focuses on football, showing over 128 men's league games every year (BBC, 2016). Sky TV currently has a 4.2 billion-pound television deal with the Premier League, while its rival BT Television has also recently signed 960 million-pound deal with the Premier League (BBC, 2015). Thus, the media's emphasis on men's football over women's, works to reinforce

the belief that football in England is about men, which equates to men's football being the stereotypical norm.

Sport media reinforces England football as male by privileging masculine components of the game while trivialising the position of women within the sport. For example, the media focuses on the physical attractiveness and family lives of women athletes, as opposed to emphasising their strength, speed and athletic ability, as is the norm for the men (Birrell and Therberge, 1994). Describing men and women in different ways in the media aids the socialisation process in creating the perceived reality of the event (Larson and Rivenburgh, 1991). The media represents men's dominance in football through focusing on attributes of their personal lives rather than their sporting achievement, therefore making them appear secondary to the men's game. This type of attention can help reinforce stereotypes that limit women's willingness to get involved in any form of physical activity, campaigns like This Girl Can highlight the effect outlets such as the media can have on participation.

For campaigns such as This Girl Can, they target where these stereotypical values are created and distributed in places like the media. Clark and Paechter (2007) argue that women's and girls' participation is so much lower than boys because of the influential constraints of society that focus attention on boy's involvement in the sporting environment as the norm. A simple act of turning the TV on can demonstrate the effect that media can have on women's sport with the lack of coverage dedicated to them. Sport England has introduced the 'This Girl Can' campaign to try to address low female engagement in sport and physical activity. Part of their mission is to get all women of all shapes and sizes playing sports or doing physical activity without feeling judged because of it (Sport England, 2015a); their main platform is different forms of media.

The campaign has found that stereotypes about women in sport are one of the primary barriers to the participation of girls and women in sport (Sport England, 2015). This shows that sporting events

framed in the media affect women in society in a negative way. Thus, the campaign is trying to directly challenge many of the stereotypes that exist for women within sport to take down the barriers that prevent them from joining sports such as football. This Girl Can used qualitative and quantitative research conducted since 2015, to gather the data to gauge what the cause was for the difference in participation rates (Sport England, 2015a). This Girl Can realises that in order for women's participation in physical activity to increase, changes in people's perceptions and behaviour needs to be addressed (This Girl Can, 2017). Changes in the images of female athletes can assist the change needed to transform gender norms of women (Butler, 1998; Hills and Croston, 2012). The link between the media and behaviour change is a key aspect of what needs to change. This Girl Can were able to understand the context in which women were finding it difficult to participate in sporting events.

This Girl Can highlighted that one of the main reasons women and girls do not participate in sport is because of a fear of judgement, specifically in regard to their appearance and ability (Sport England, 2015; Clark and Paechter, 2007). Other reasons include dedicating time and money to physical activity and that they feel guilty for taking time away from their families. Many of these fears are rooted in the construction of sport as a space for men and masculinity, but there is also pressure from other angles such as friends, family, and other women (Sport England, 2015a). The power of the link between hegemonic masculinity and sport can be seen as a direct issue for women entering physical activity. Certain forms of masculinity, such as the masculine image that surrounds sport, can become so dominant that it becomes unquestioned, if women don't meet that criteria they can class themselves as outsiders to certain types of physical activity (Light, 2007). Being feminine mattered to the women in the study, therefore entering a stereotypically masculine arena can affect women's sense of self as well as being an outsider (Bartley, 1998; Roth and Basow, 2004). These factors combined with other insecurities about body image and family time can make entering physical activity difficult for women.

Women tend to have easier access to sports that are deemed more feminine, for example 'gymnastics, figure skating, dance and cheerleading where femininity is written into the rules of the sport (Nelson, 1994; Roth and Basow, 2004). Even though these sports require a great deal of strength and agility, traits that can also be associated with masculine sports. Hills (2007) also discovered that women and girls were more likely to participate if there was a social element to the activity. Therefore, peer culture played a large part in whether it was the norm to take part in certain sporting activities (Donovan, 2003). This peer pressure often runs alongside conformity to the heterosexual norm and the pressure to abide by feminine norms, rather than entering the supposed masculine arena of sport (Hills, 2007; Hey, 1997). Peer culture, and perceptions of people in society, help reinforce images that are associated with day to day life.

The findings from This Girl Can run parallel to how the media presents sports to the public and it shows that the norms distributed by the media help to reinforce these notions in everyday life. Lebel and Danylchuk (2009) highlight how the media treat athletes orchestrates society's perceptions of women athletes and women in general. An underrepresentation of women in the media resulted in the indifference of the research candidates' opinions of women's sport. The limited opportunities for women getting into sport are as keenly felt when they have made it and are fighting for equal representation in the media (Lebel and Danykchuk, 2009). The influence the media has over the general population is seen in the findings from This Girl Can. Power relations such as this need to be examined to understand what can be changed first. Therefore, using a combination of gender, nationhood, 'This Girl Can' and the media this study will analyse these issues within the context of the World Cup matches.

The main aim of the study is to examine narratives of gender in the commentary of the men's and women's World Cup tournament. This will be done by using full match videos from the BBC & ITV, and match reports from The Guardian. The televised broadcast of the 2014 men's World Cup and 2015 and women's World Cup will be analysed in this project. The analysis will focus on the group

stage of the tournament and will investigate both broadcaster commentary and the match reports from The Guardian. The purpose of examining World Cup for both the men and the women is to set both sets of commentary alongside each other to see how gender is manifested within coverage of the men and women in similar tournaments. By using both types of mass media an understanding of gender issues within coverage of English football can be obtained. Commentary analysis in particular will highlight specific details in the language. Divisions of gender are reflected in language, therefore being able to highlight when the commentary is using language-as-mirror vs language-as-reproductive will uncover how language is being used as a tool (Talbot, 1998). Language-as-mirror can be understood as reflecting what society is representing, whereas language-as-reproductive is when language is used to reinforce the actions they wish reproduce, such as a certain image they want to represent an activity.

I use discourse analysis to critically interrogate the findings and to decipher the themes because of its ability to examine language and the power relations within bodies of text (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). The media's involvement with these power relations is why discourse analysis is used as a tool in this project. Power is relational to knowledge and can reach into people's body's, actions and attitudes, which affects their everyday life (Foucault, 1980; Mason, 2017). Power is not something that people possess, but it can affect their lives through the acquisition of knowledge. Knowledge according to Foucault is the understanding of truth, and with that truth comes power, hence the continuous circle that links to two concepts of power and knowledge together (Foucault, 1980). The link between people's knowledge is also linked to their actions. Therefore, in football holds power because it is relational to men in English society. Being able to examine what is said in the commentary, which relates to men's dominance in football, will outline what discourses function within football and recreated through the commentators.

Football today is considered a man's sport, but women's participation in the game has never been higher, with the amount of registered UEFA women football players growing from 99,491 in 2016

to 106,910 in 2017 (UEFA, 2017). Thus, this study sought to answer the following: How do television announcers produce and reproduce discourses of gender in commentary of the Women's and Men's World Cup, and how are these discourses similar or different to newspaper reports of the same matches? This study argues that the narrative of the women's and men's game is used to reinforce football as a masculine pursuit. The themes were therefore split into the following sections: 'Man, history, and the embodiment of nationalistic sport', 'Men as the builders of Nationhood', and finally 'The feminization of the England Women'. Male domination in the media has enabled this gender imbalance between the men's and women's game to hold significance in society today (Christopherson et al, 2002; Black and Fielding Lloyd, 2017). Men's possession of football permeates through all aspects of the sport, this has become visible through looking into two sets of commentary from the same sports, but importantly from the perspectives of the men's and women's game.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

During this chapter I will look to the start of football's popularity to understand the driving forces that have propelled the game to where it is today. The media also plays a large part in this study, especially in terms of representation of athletes. Language is the cornerstone of the media that reinforces stereotypical norms that society creates on a daily basis. In order to understand all of this, discourse analysis needed to be understood because of its links to language, discourse and power.

2.1 Discourses and how they are formed

Discourses are ways of constituting knowledge with social practices and forms of power relations, 'which inhere in such knowledges and relations between them' (Pinkus, 1996; Weedon, 1987). A discourse, in its simplest form, is an order of doing things. A discourse is formed from society, and these discourses are rooted in Foucault's theory because of how they react to the nature of power in society (Mason, 2017; Markula, 2003). Foucault says that power reaches into individuals, into their body's actions and attitudes, processing their life daily (Foucault, 1980; Mason, 2017). The body is a part of the process that power exudes, meaning that the body is used for what society wants it for (Andrews, 1993). These are techniques of surveillance which become a complex web of self-regulation. The impact of discourses, helps football norms to be recreated. Aspects in the media, such as news stories and coverage, help to define what society has access to, and what influences them.

Power is relational throughout society in this way and is linked to knowledge in the same way in the media. Knowledge and power work together and reinforce each other. Discourse within society allow these links of knowledge and power to become stronger because discourses themselves are a form of knowledge. Together they become the 'regime of truth' which is a type of discourse that is accepted as the truth in normal society (Foucault, 1998). White men dominate football, therefore

they control the knowledge around the game, creating more power for them which makes it possible for oppression to happen to other groups, such as women footballers. For example, Wrack (2018) highlighted that 88% of Women Super League players are paid £18,000 or less. This has led to over 58% of the players considering leaving the game of football, due to financial commitments. After further examination, Wrack (2018) uncovered that the difference in men's and women's England teams was a stark contrast to what chief executive, Martin Glenn, claims it to be in something as simple as travel arrangements to football tournaments around the world. Men are considered the norm for football and therefore are considered the true image of the game. The notion of norms can be understood through self-regulation, a concept that Foucault explains as social control (Fraser, 2003). Individuals self-regulate their behaviour to fit a standard. That standard can be set by other individuals or society as a whole. Self-regulating becomes autonomous when people in society don't recognise they are regulating themselves (Fraser, 2003). Therefore, discourse in society become the norm that individuals regulate themselves against, this then works to recreate knowledge of certain behaviours that are known in society. This is when these behaviours become recognised as norms in certain environments.

The normalisation process can be seen in football today as players regulate their behaviour in the football environment. Specifically, in relation to gender as women footballers contradict their dominant discourse of femininity by taking part in football, therefore they regulate their behaviour to meet norms associated to football (Markula, 2003). In order to adhere to the norms of football they have to sacrifice some of their femininity. Cahn (1994) explains how women athletes develop a double consciousness while coming to terms with the 'mannish' athletic image they portray when playing sport. Women know they need to meet certain levels of physicality to perform their best, but some women hold back in order to avoid building large muscles that will be deemed masculine (Roth and Basow, 2004). Some female athletes create their own definition of womanhood that closes the gap between athleticism and femininity, rendering the issue of somehow losing their femininity through sport pointless (Cahn, 2015). This issue that women athletes face is difficult to

quantify, other elements such as personal preference and the importance of femininity between different women is difficult to work around sports that are dominated by masculine norms.

As discussed earlier, football is considered to be for men, therefore the masculinities associated with football hinder women taking part in the game today in terms of adhering to their feminine norm. Therefore, the discourse that runs throughout this type of scenario are associated with masculinity. Discourses such as this are the basis for using Foucault's theory in this project. Discourse analysis helps to establish how gender ideology and gendered relations of power are produced, negotiated, and contested in everyday life (Gong, 2016). Therefore, the use of discourse analysis on the commentary examines these types of power relations that effect socialisation and masculinities within football.

Masculinity and football are linked. Koviula (2011) states sports have 'been traditionally designed as an aggressive masculine activity that has discouraged' from women and girls. Historically, connections between sport and masculinity has been perpetuated through links to the military. Sport in its simplest form is derived from war, male performance and male aesthetics are championed because of the arena of sport environments (Pfister, 2013; Marschik, 2003). Gender discourses such as this help to frame women in sport as outsiders. Cultural representations of the sports that women are playing tend to already have a masculine discourse underpinning them (Themen, 2016). For example, Caudwell (1999) examined what is known as the butch lesbian image of women's football, stating that 'the lesbian image is one of the most popular notions of women who play football in the UK, in particular, the butch lesbian identity' (pg 391). Connotations from society enforce a masculine image on the game of football, the 'mannish' lesbian image has been intrinsically linked to the game of football due to discourses that are linked to sexuality and sport. Most images that have been used to depict women footballers at this time, fed the prevailing images that imply the masculine tendencies and lesbian sexuality of the players (Caudwell, 1999). Women footballers, and other sport women, are associated with lesbianism whether they are or not (Carillo

and Deford, 1999; Roth and Basow, 2004). What sport you play shouldn't outline your gender, yet the masculine norms that are associated with football interlink with sexuality because of outdated discourses that still influence the modern game. To understand these gender differences sex and gender need to be understood as the two can often be construed.

The terms sex and gender are often confused with each other. Craig and Beedie (2008) and Giddens (2001) highlight the difference between the two classifications; the definition of 'sex' is the 'anatomical and physiological differences that define male and female bodies', while gender returns to 'the psychological, social and cultural differences between males and females'. Many gender discourses tend to centre on the differences between the sex and gender, and their relationship with what is considered masculine and feminine. Physical differences tend to be highlighted to justify what sport is considered suitable for men or women; such as the strength and power of male athletes and the graceful, small, lithe bodies of women (Lorber, 1994). Ideologies are then created because of stereotypes associated with men and women in sport.

Discourses about gender are surrounded by a biological ideology that is based on the preferred natural difference between men and women (Matthews, 2014; Foucault, 1998; Lorber, 1993). These definitions about gender highlight the main difference between the two and how the rest of society understand them. From a young age, children are placed into 'girls' and 'boys' sports and throughout preadolescents, as stated earlier, children are aware of sports that are deemed less or more appropriate for them to take part in, based on their gender. For example, contact sports football and rugby, and sports considered to be less aggressive to be for girls such as badminton and netball (Lorber, 1994; Christopherson et al, 2002). Once gender has been ascribed to boys and girls at this young age the social order holds individuals strongly into these gendered norms and expectations for their gender (Lorber, 1994). Expectations due to children's gender then follows them into adulthood, in relation to jobs and hobbies. This is all related to the idea of gender and what that means in relation to society.

2.2 The Development of Football in England

Modern forms of football date back to at least 1740s when the game was developed in England's public schools most notably at Eton in 1747 and Westminster from 1749 (Russell, 1997). The game was fashioned to discipline unruly boys in Britain's public schools in the 1840s in order to channel their bad behaviour (Skelton, 2000; Giulianotti, 2002). The start of football has had masculine influences from its beginnings by only letting boys participate early on. Western society also holds masculine ideals at its heart, therefore boy's embodiment of the sport at such a young age is what starts the identification of masculinity and football together (Wheaton, 2003). Modern examples of these football norms are recreated in the industrial heartlands where in places such as the industry centres of the north of England or the coalfield towns of Scotland, where tough white masculinity is the norm (Giulianotti, 2002). The culture surrounding football nods heavily towards men and male tendencies, any deviation from the white male traditional football norm.

Football is usually considered to be the pursuit of white working-class men, with the tradition of football being passed down from generation to generation (Snyder and Purdy, 1982). These traditions tend to be passed down to their sons. This is also reinforced with the association of football with working men's clubs where, as the title suggests, only men were allowed (Russell, 1997). This relates to the gender ideologies that exclude women from sports due to what is appropriate for women and men (Giddens, 2001). Traditions such as football have become entrenched with masculine norms that are a part of working-class life. But football traditions were first conceived in a different environment in spaces such as public schools.

Football traditions started alongside its use in schools in the 19th century (Pfister, 2015; Pfister, 2013). Britain and England have had a love affair with traditional sports like football because of the associated identities and practices that go along side it; hegemonic masculinities are created shaped and performed by people that are in the football world (Wheaton, 2003). These tendencies are what was used in schools to discipline the school boys at that time. Associated with this is the exclusion

of women and 'other' people not associated with normal image of football: along with gay or non-white men (Wheaton, 2003; Whitson et al, 1990). They become secondary to the men, this then makes sports that women take part in, like football, secondary to the male version. In other words, men are socialised in and women are socialised out. The division of men and women has been built upon over time leading to the separation of present-day football.

Because of the socialisation process, school sports are distinguished as girl and boy 'appropriate', and sports such as football and rugby are not as easily accessible for them which hinders girl's development in these sports (Caudwell, 2001; Pfister, 2013). Development of gender identity is formed through the process of building and confirming certain identities that are specific to each gender. Caudwell (2011) examined schoolgirl's awareness of adopting and conforming to traditional understanding of femininity within a football environment. The girls were actively understanding the notion that football was okay for boys to playing but not for them. Furthermore, they are even able to understand that the masculine identity for the boys can be gained from participating in football, but for them to opposite would happen, which would affect their femininity (Caudwell, 2011). The girls understood that participating in football would harm their femininity as girls. Participating in football, at this young age, is already a major decision young girl's make. Foucault assesses how human beings understand themselves in our culture and the girls in this study understand that the norm for football is boy's participation (Hall, 1980). Therefore, the ramifications of the girls understanding of gender specific sports adds to the masculine discourse that surround football which limit them entering football to begin with.

Girls recreate ideologies that add to their status as outsiders of football. Sports are not only seen as gendered institution but also as ways of gendering (Yiannakis and Melnick, 2001). Therefore, the masculine discourse that surrounds football has a way of gendering participants of football to be a certain way that is appropriate to the football world. Sport often values male strength and other masculine qualities in a sporting setting (Costa and Guthrie, 1994; Roth and Basow, 2004). The

gendering process of football participants goes back to the creation of the game. However, part of the basis of football that is usually glossed over is the women's game.

The Women's Football Association was created in 1969 (Harris, 2001) but women's involvement in football has been recorded nearly 80 years before that. One of the earliest recorded matches occurred in 1895 (Williams and Woodhouse, 1991; Black and Fielding-Lloyd, 2017), but it was 25 years later that women's football really grew. During the 1920s women's football attracted larger crowds than the men (Brennan, 2007). Women played football in their spare time on the beaches and in their dinner breaks, just as it was for the men before the war (Brennan, 2007). When women stepped in to fill in the 'mens' jobs to aid the war effort during the First World War, they also took the opportunity to play football in their dinner breaks and after work (Harris, 2001; Brennan, 2007). Women took on many roles when the men were away at war. However, when the men came back, hostility was aimed at the women's game, and from 1921 they were banned from playing in FA grounds (Black and Fielding Lloyd, 2017). The women proved that they could contribute in the same way as the men had. The ban came from the unproven allegations that the revenue made from the matches was spent on the expenses, teamed with the notion that football is not suitable for women (Newsham, 1997; Black and Fielding Lloyd, 2017). The justification was hinged on two arguments; the first that women were unsuitable to play football and there were a series of receipts documented that not enough money was donated to charities (Black and Fielding Lloyd, 2017). The masculine image of football had to be maintained (Williams, 2003; Edwards et al, 2015) because football is structured by men, for men, and when women try to enter their sport they challenge this. This created a lot of hostility towards the women's game at the time.

Williams and Hess (2015) show that women are often met with hostility and scepticism when entering football, especially when they enter club environments with a men's and women's team. There is a fear that they will take the publicity away from the men's teams or portray the club as feminine rather than masculine, a strangely familiar theme to the issues surrounding women's

extraction from the game in 1921. The men's team is the top focus for the club, men are the priority. Clubs do not want the power to diffuse to the women's team. Women's football is made to feel secondary in England, compared to the men's game which is set on a pedestal. Because of this the women's game doesn't become part of the national image of England.

Harris and Clayton (2002) argue that football is a vehicle to examine how nationalist ideologies are entwined with masculinity. Therefore, the two are intimately linked and both work in relation to each other. Masculinity becomes part of the image of the nation. Gender issues and the image of the nation become linked, as women's football does not garner the amount of support that the men's does. The ideologies that make men's football as the nation's sport, and not women's, help to reproduce the popularity felt for the men's team. Masculine ideologies have been the norm for the football environment, naturally the national ideology then encompasses men's football because of the masculinities associated with it. Symbols, such as football, make up the nation's image which in turn recreate what is meant to be part of that nation. Football and masculinities embody what is to be the nation's sport and women's football doesn't to level of the men's game.

2.3 The media's role in the representation of athletes

The reinforcement of the connection between football, the nation, and masculinity is also done through sporting celebrities. Male sport stars are the embodiment of the nation and represent what it is to be English. Male sport stars are said to emit the masculine constructs and ideals that equals what the nation aspires for (Harris and Clayton, 2002). Put simply, sport is an indicator of national identity (Boyle and Haynes, 2004). News platforms idolise men's sport stars. Newspapers focus on players such as David Beckham with newspaper articles detailing the equalizer he scores in the last minutes of the 2002 World Cup final qualifier, where he is pictured with his fists clenched, arms raised, cheering to the crowd (Campbell, 2013). David Beckham represents the perfect national image of what it means to be English in the media's eye. The aggressive pose, success of the goal, work toward the perfect image that the nation expects. The media portray David Beckham as the

poster boy for the England team at that time. This bolsters the preferred image of football, not only in terms of gender, but also for the norm for men entering the field of football. David Beckham's elevated status can show an insight into wider patterns of societal norms (Cashmore and Parker, 2003). News stories such as this highlight how much the nation idolises players like David Beckham, portraying his successes as the nation's preferred image.

The preferred national image, as an example, is David Beckham, any deviation from the preferred national image that is white strong men, is a deviation from the social norm. A strong representation of the nation is the priority for how the nation wants to be perceived. The intersection of gender, class, sexuality, ethnicity and race is the basis for inequalities in football (Caudwell, 2009; Caudwell, 2011). All of these aspects offer opportunities to act against the norm of footballs' ideal image. This means that for anyone entering football that does not represent what is culturally accepted as the norm, they will be met with adversity. The preferred image of English football is the heterosexual norm.

The recurring narrative of heterosexual norms constructs and reconstructs the focused traditional nationalism (Free, 2005). Men will continue to represent the cultural norm because sports such as football, rugby and cricket have been the part of the patriarchal culture that has characterized them for years (Wheaton, 2003; Carrington and Macdonald, 2001). Heterosexual norms have been thus for centuries, deviations from these norms, such as women entering the football field, risk 'becoming the butt of sexual innuendo or sexist behaviour' (Whelehan, 2000, pg 64). For example, women are more likely to be depicted in sexualising images such as, wearing provocative clothing or serving as decorative objects (Szymanski et al, 2011). Kane et al (2013) explains how women athletes are depicted in five major categories ranging from athletic competence to soft pornography. They are photographed and described by focusing on aspects that are unrelated to women's athletic performance only seek to prevent the growth of women's sport. The women need to be represented as close to the heterosexual norm as possible.

Gendered discourse of football is reproduced in sites in the media. For example, the press, newspapers, news shows and on TV. Playing football has become a site where gender identities are made and reproduced, because male footballers are considered to be representations of what football is (Pfister, 2013). The combination the nation, football and the media, intensifies the reproduction of societal norms. The way the media has grown needs to be taken into consideration due to the changed in how society consumes news stories. The heterosexual norm plays a pivotal role in the construction of the image of the nation. Sexualising women athletes like with the tennis players above, and favouring images of men, like David Beckham, show the stark contrast of how men and women athletes are viewed in modern day media. Physicality and athleticism underpin what it means to be English and is used in order for hegemonic masculinity to reproduce the male football ideology (Themen, 2016; Black and Fielding-Lloyd, 2017). Additionally, this is born out in terms of language.

Language plays a key role in the representation of athletes. The media is not simply an avenue of which to reflect fan and public interest in specific sports, it also helps to maintain and sustain that enthusiasm for the sports they cover (Messner and Cooky, 2010), and language plays a major part in keeping fans interested. Bien-aime (2016) explain that 'language transmits ideology, which means there is a political component to language that cannot be ignored in any piece of communication' (pg 45). There are a number of other factors such as different media types use different types of language, newspapers or news stories.

Language is a tool used by the media that assists in the redistribution of messages and norms in society that appear every day and effects how people are represented (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003). Power is interlinked with language because of its ability to shape meaning and it does this through highly structured systems of 'signs, or combinations of form and meaning' (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003). When the media distribute stories, they don't just use images to make their point, the language they use is just as important. Richardson (2009) explains when the term 'man'

is used as 'an indefinite pronoun, it grammatically refers to both men and women'. There for the distinction between 'man' and 'woman' can be seen as redundant as the term 'man' is technically referring to both genders. The ideological content of language is how norms are redistributed in society and how athletes are then represented. Language is understood depending on the cultural surroundings. Language shapes the way people perceive the world, therefore making a subject more vivid with different language choices will draw more or less of an audience (Bigler and Leaper, 2015). If a commentator uses different ways to describe the same sport, it will present it in a different light.

The media has changed and grown over the past decade and has become one of 'the most powerful institutional forces for shaping values in modern culture' (Kane, 1998). The reach and accessibility of media means imagery is distributed and accessed by a wider audience than ever before (Desmaris and Bissell, 2010). Images used in the media can shape how people view gender in various contexts such as the home and the workplace. This can reinforce ideas of gender in a positive or a negative way. For example, the media has reproduced images of football being a sport for men, with the content that is shown and the visual representations in the media. The media has the ability to present and 'frame' events to create certain patterns of meanings that reconstruct and display gender ideals and norms (Pfister, 2015; Pfister, 2013). The media is a complex structure of dominance that is made up of a number of different outlets such as TV, newspapers, social media, the internet and advertisement.

Media outlets such as television is considered to be one of the most important inventions of the 20th century (Desmaris and Bruce, 2010). The emergence of different channels to be able to distribute stereotypical images of athletes has enabled previous boundaries and limitations to be surpassed with ease, allowing larger audiences to be subjected to the same messages (Desmaris and Bruce, 2010; Sterkenburg and Knoppers, 2004). Men's sport still dominates the back of most newspapers, with only small sections nodding to the success of women's teams. When women's

sport is reported on it is usually within the bracket of heterosexual norms, with influences from wider societies (Christopherson et al, 2002; Black and Fielding-Lloyd, 2017). It is fair to say that this increase in the media coverage of sports over the past 20 years, alongside the technological advances in the media, has not been fair for both men and women (Barnett, 2013). Men's sport continues to overshadow women's in the headlines and TV listings. This, linking in with the power of the media, sets up the norm in relation to sport and gender differences.

The media adopts masculine forms in society because that is the dominant discourse that runs throughout (Russell, 1997; Free, 2005; Harris, 2001). Masculine forms can be anything that is considered masculine, therefore the media adopts descriptive and imagery techniques that represent masculine norms. Sport organisations legitimize the lack of women in high power positions drawing on notions of their lack of experience or knowledge base in those positions (Shaw and Frisby, 2006). The media also uses an argument based around supply and demand that predominantly focus on male sports because accommodating what the audience wants to see. The underlying issue with justifications such as this is that they are riddled with notions of hegemonic masculinity and men's dominance within society. The influence that platforms such as Sky have in the distribution of masculine norms of sport help to pass the message on to viewers (Boyle, 2010). By focusing on men's sports, women's sport is moved to the side-line. If the public are not able to 'see' women's sport on platforms such as Sky, that broadcast a vast majority of sport channels, they are unable to access it as readily as men's sport. Therefore, the media's ability to redistribute messages is key to understanding how norms are distributed. This is not saying that the media has full control over what the public thinks about sport, but they do have the ability to influence them with the content that they cover, and sometimes the media can set their own agendas.

The ability for the media to impact the public is called 'the agenda setting role of the media' (McCombs, 2004). For example, football has been placed as the favourite sport of the nation because of how football is entrenched in the culture of England. Baudrillard (1995) says that the

media can be used as a 'masquerade of information'. This masquerade is how the media frames and distributes news stories and sporting events, the content of the stories is key to the message that is distributed. The media is able to distribute a certain stereotypical image that starts to be associated with that sport, for example being able to distribute stereotypical images of female or male athletes, half naked bodies of cheerleaders compared to strong army clad bodies of the American footballers (Knapp, 2013). That image then becomes associated with those athletes.

The recreation and distribution of messages is something sports casters need to be aware of because of the messages that are being transmitted. The distribution of messages is not only left for the amount of coverage but how the coverage is presented. Crolley and Teso (2007) explain that even slight linguistic differences in the words chosen to report a certain event for men or women can help to reinforce patriarchal discourses. Lichen and Billings (2013) found that for women, descriptive words and phrases tend to stick with characteristics that are typically feminine: attractive, beautiful, graceful, emotional, weak, unstable, dependant, self-sacrificing. Whereas men are framed with more masculine characteristics such as: active, aggressive, committed, competitive, dominant, independent, skilled, strong, violent (Lichen and Billings, 2013). These types of descriptive words help to create and perpetuate masculine and feminine sporting ideologies that encompass sport media, in places like the commentary and the press. This creates the cycle in the media that keeps reproducing men's and women's sport as different. The media rely heavily on established societal values and feed off the current social order to better meet the public's demands (Lebel and Danylchuk, 2009). The growing commercialisation of sport has encouraged sports such as football to appeal to the mass audience of society (Jean et al, 2016). Football has done this by appealing to the masculinities that connote nationalistic norms. This growth in popularity has created an ideology that has become linked to a cycle where the masculine discourse in the media is replicated in society.

Sports commentators tend to regurgitate existing cultural stereotypes and terms and phrases that are centred around masculine discourses (Desmaris and Bruce, 2010). These differences also help

to trivialise women's performances and their success (Messner and Cooky, 2010). The women become trivialised by describing men and women's sport in separate ways, the commentators set up an obvious difference between men and women from the outset. Commentators do this through the language they use because traditionally men and women have been described in different ways. The commentators may not know they are doing this when using different descriptive techniques, but trivialisation and 'outsider' status ensues.

Athletes such as women footballers are entering a very popular masculine sport but do not represent the stereotypical norm of football. The way that the media interprets successful female athletes in a masculine settings is important for how they are represented. For example, when women start to display masculine tendencies such as strength and speed their femininity is questioned which affects how they are represented. For example, French tennis player Amelie Mauresmo, who won the Australian open in 1999, was subjected to being called 'half-male' by the press (Stevenson, 2002). She was described as 'half-male' because of her appearance and her superior athletic skill. The commentators focussed on three specific aspects that confirm her masculine qualities; her clothes, her sexuality and her body shape. So just like the term athlete is associated with being male, so is the term masculine (Lebel and Denylchuk, 2009). The article also talked of how her sexuality was brought into the picture to further her image as being masculine. The press had confirmed her as male, meaning that she had left the normative boundaries that allow her to still be seen as feminine. They therefore chose to focus and enhance aspects of her appearance and personal life that would propel this image further. This effected how she was represented and therefore how she was perceived by the public. Thus, the sports world is one of the 'most effective institutions for controlling and inducting male and female' ideologies, they contribute to the gendered institutions and gendering process (Mennesson, 2009; Yiannakis and Melnick, 2007). Basically, the sports world is responsible for these ideologies adding to the gender issues that surround certain sports.

The media's strength in the reproduction of these ideologies and discourses is able to systematically organise and distribute messages to the public through language. Men have controlled language as men have control over the 'production of meaning' (Talbot, 1998, pg 45) meaning that language has a natural male bias. The distinctions between men and women then come with grammatical gender assignment; which is essentially assigning women's sport with labels. Grammatical gender assignment provides a link between societal gender representations too (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003). For example, football vs women's football, 'women' is used to distinguish between the two. Essentially the use of labels also reproduces gender with the language used.

One of the main way's labels are used between men and women is calling men 'men' and women 'girls', or the use of any subservient label. This is known as infantilisation or being 'linguistically infantilised' (Kuo, 2003). This difference may only seem slight at first but when looked at further it connotes something deeper, by using the label 'girl' it is encouraging women to remain childlike and therefore inferior without as much power compared to 'men' (Richardson, 2009). Parkinson (2015) explains in an article states this 'I cannot imagine a group of male senior executives referred to as boys, but it is easy to conjure up girls in the reverse scenario' (pg 2). She also explains how commentators and pundits in the 2015 World Cup tournament continually referred to the Bronze medal winner as 'girls' (Parkinson, 2015). Commentators have to say things very fast which puts them under pressure; 'grammatical complexity of commentator's utterances and the degree of time pressure' effect what they say, and what this usually means in that they revert to cultural norms when put under this pressure (Mackenzie, 2004). The first thing that comes to the commentators mind is their learnt behaviours, therefore the cultural norms that they have learnt through their life with naturally become second nature when under pressure. These cultural norms are part of the discourse that allows for the term 'girl' to be used. This can be seen as an excuse for the use of terms such as 'girls' that it is just the way things are. This is important because of the effects of cultural norms are entrenched in the way that people think. Changing this from the norm is how this small change can help women not feel as degraded in sporting environments.

The result of this process has created the need for gender labels in front of team names. Infantilisation works in a similar way in terms of labelling women athletes. When men are referred to as boys it is used as less of a 'put down', even though it is linked to immaturity, and used as more of a camaraderie tool; infantilisation is used a lot less on men compared to women (Richardson, 2009). Infantilisation is used as a casual remark, but how it is used between the genders, shows the power words have in creating gender biases in sporting contexts (Bigler and Leaper, 2015).

The lack of power for women derived from this transform itself when continuing to label women as wives, mothers or girlfriends (Cookey et al, 2015). This reaffirms women into a role of objects of men, being part of their possession, that they are only something in relation to them. Terms such as 'girl' have the same impact on women's sports as labels in front of the sports title. It is normal to refer to a group of women as girls, just as it is normal to attach a feminine label to women's football teams. Wolter (2015) explains how language is used against women athletes to set them apart as outsiders using descriptive language. One of the more noticeable terms is 'gender marking' which is calling a sport played by women 'women's football' and not just 'football'; a sport is assumed to be played by men if there isn't a gender mark in front of its title, as explained earlier, the sports are for men or for women, so a distinction is needed when men and women bridge that gap.

Amos (2016) explains the use of the label women or girls in front of team names, draws a focus on the perceived physical frailty of women and perpetuates gender differences in football and other sports. For example, he looks at the use of the term Ladies by Manchester City. Manchester city changed their name from 'Manchester City Ladies' to 'Manchester City Women' in 2014. The effect of this is a positive step forward because the use of the term ladies is outdated. Labels still exist such as 'women, bees, belles' or even lionesses but this is proof that steps forward are being made (Amos, 2016). When talking about any sport played by women the media and society put the label in front of it because of the assumption of sport being for men. Adding the label in front of the

sports team this encourages society to categorise them within the parameters of gender appropriateness (Jones and Greer, 2001). Therefore, steps towards the removal of any label needs to be made. Differences in language have the power to confirm and redistribute depictions of masculinity and femininity. This is exemplified in sport media when men and women are framed differently.

Another way language is used against women in sport is in relation to descriptive words. For example, men are described with more aggressive, more masculine language, whereas language for women is more passive. But because sport is seen as masculine the descriptive words used will also be masculine to describe any sporting activity (Wolter, 2015). Pringle and Markula (2005) analysed men's experiences in Rugby Union in New Zealand. They studied how men negotiate their own understanding of their masculinity. The men described that they were encouraged to take up Rugby in school because that was the sport for the boys (Pringle and Markula, 2005). All of the men that took part in the study described how they were expected to risk their bodies in order to play rugby. This type of violence has become synonymous with masculinities that surround sports. Sports such as rugby and football have become increasingly important as a 'masculine validating experience' (Messner, 1990, pg 204). This is where differences highlight themselves in men's and women's sports. Men are gendered as masculine just as women are gendered as feminine. All of these uses of language start to push the perceived differences between men and women further apart.

The way men and women are described has an impact on how they are perceived. For example, when Paula Radcliffe (renowned British marathon runner) came to the end of her career, the media framed her farewell from marathon running through her as a mother. The reporter explains the strains of being a mother as well as an athlete, with struggles with the school run and battling injuries (Majendie, 2015). A passage states that 'Mother time has caught up with Radcliffe...' and only towards the end of the article does the feet's of her career be touched upon, talking about when she won the London Marathon in 2003 (Majendie, 2015). This story of Paula Radcliffe

reaffirms the gendering of sport. Women's strength and speed, or 'masculine qualities' in competitive areas tend to be undercut by the media (Birrell and Therberge, 1994) highlighting the difference in a more obvious way such as this. Norms and values such as these are still present even with the increase attention to female athletes (Clayton and Harris, 2004), even when the athletes are as prolific as Paula Radcliffe.

Descriptions used in the media, on athletes as big as Paula Radcliffe and the England women's team, create a cycle that make all women athletes aware of their femininity. For example, women athletes face a dual identity that encompasses their femininity and their athleticism. Kane et al (2013) explains that one involves their physically powerful 'on-the-court' self, and the other sees them having to 'perform femininity outside of the sporting context' (pg 274). Women are tied to their femininity, and when media stories focus on qualities outside of sporting events it is no wonder that women athletes feel the pressure to perform femininity in order to adhere to more of a norm. For example, Pirinen (1997) analysed the representation of Finnish female Olympic athletes. The media highlighted stories about their personal life or appearance over their sporting achievement. Language is a crucial part of the media and commentary, an important artefact that has been controlled and manipulated for the production of cultural norms and appropriateness (Spencer, 1980). Taking this example forward the focus needs to be on examining the aspects of the sport world that recreated these gender norms and stereotypes. If commentary is a site for this, how it redistributes messages needs to be examined.

This form of content and coverage can be problematic as it can extend to damaging female athletes by focusing on aspects deemed to be weak rather than their athleticism (Hardin et al, 2012); commentary has important implications surrounding interactive elements in the media that contribute to social identity and attitude change (Billings et al, 2002). Therefore, the media doesn't necessarily have the ability to tell society what to think, but it can present sporting events in certain

ways. The media is one of the largest resources that reproduces societal norms, therefore, the media has to be careful regarding how they present events because they have such a wide audience.

Masculine discourses are part of these predominantly masculine hegemonic gender boundaries that are prevailing and continuing with this difference in men's and women's football (McDowell and Schaffner, 2011; Anderson, 2002). One of these distinct differences that is shown throughout the media in regard to gender is that 'what men do is valued more than what women do even if their activities are the same' (Lober, 1994). This is seen every day in obvious ways such as how much men's football is shown on TV compared to that of women's. There is a lot deeper rooted than just men's sport being of higher value, there are social structures leading back to childhood and socialization being reaffirmed every day that are to blame also. But in order to change these discursive practices, the sources have to be found, or at least where these discourses are reproduced.

Sport has the ability to change and evolve to suit the apparent needs of the time, dance is a prime example of this. Mennesson (2009) shows us that 'dancing was not always been regarded as a female activity', it was an occupation for men. Not only that but it was deemed a masculine activity as well. This shows how perception of what sport is appropriate vs what is not can fluctuate over time. For example, as explained earlier, women's football was more popular than men's before it was banned. In more recent times sports that are deemed appropriate for women are sports like tennis, swimming and golf (Harris and Clayton, 2002). Netball has also been seen as a sport for women, but this has also been contested in recent times with many men also playing the sport (Tagg, 2008). As with football considered a sport for men, women's football has seen a steady increase in popularity of over the years, what sport is deemed appropriate for men or women has the opportunity to change through history.

Ideological content in the men's and women's commentary has the ability to deem what is appropriate sport for men and women in society, via the language used in the commentary. Ideologies are representations of how society thinks. Football becomes that part of that system because acceptance on the sporting field reflects wider society. Past studies have looked into issues surrounding gender and sport but these studies have focused on aspects of gender that are in relation to participation. Harris (2001) has looked into how women's integration to football has been facilitated and the experiences of female players. The key finding was that women felt as if they had been classed as second place in comparison to the male players. For example, they were made to play on a pitch which was uneven and out of the way, this pitch was then labelled the 'girls' pitch (Harris, 2001). This research allows us to understand the female player's experiences of gender inequality in football, highlighting the real-life differences in experiences of women footballers (Fielding-Lloyd and Mean, 2016). This leads on to focus on where the masculine hegemony comes from and what this means in larger context of football, with regards to how masculine ideologies are legitimized in football.

Masculine ideologies are the heterosexual norm in football, Billings et al (2002) is able to take issues such as conforming to heterosexual images and frame them in more of the context of sports commentary, and what sports commentary consists of. Billings et al (2002) sought to examine how gender differences feature in basketball, particularly how they are created and distributed in the commentary. The way that Billings et al (2002) specifically focus on commentary shows how the commentary can have such an effect on a sporting event. Techniques used to analyse newspaper articles from Black and Fielding-Lloyds (2017) study of the Women's World Cup Tournament in 2015, will be used to draw on gender constructions in football today. Women's football has been given the 'outsider' label, analysis of both the commentary and match reports will allow for a more complete view of gender in football.

The main aim of the project is to examine the commentary of the men's and women's World Cup through a gendered lens. By using a combination of techniques used in these studies above, such as the analysis of the commentary and newspaper articles, drawing concepts from all of these examples, assessing how women are classed as second place and outsiders of the sport (Harris, 2001; Black and Fielding-Lloyd, 2017) and being able to assess how the men and women are portrayed (Pfister, 2015). Being able to assess what sort of occurrences are recreated in commentary will open another avenue that has not been assessed yet in football, specifically related to the gender differences in the commentary of the men's and women's modern game.

Chapter 3: Method

During this chapter I will explore the methodology behind my research, specifically regarding the techniques used to find and understand the data from the World Cup commentary. I will also justify using certain techniques over others when analysing the commentary and match reports. By the end of this chapter I will also explain the reasons behind using Foucauldian Discourse Analysis as the theoretical framework that centres around this body of work.

This study examines printed press coverage and TV commentary of the 2014 England men's World Cup and 2015 England women's World Cup team. The men's team failed to win a single group match meaning they did not progress in the tournament past that stage. The women managed to win all but one of their matches. This resulted in them qualifying second in their group. This meant that the women progressed to the round of 16. They proceed to beat Norway and Canada, but were then thwarted by Japan which meant they had a battle for third place against Germany. England won that match meaning they gained the bronze medal in the entire tournament.

3.1 Ethics

At the start of data collection, it was difficult to find a group of matches to choose from. When it came to sourcing the matches I tried multiple avenues including ITV, BBC and YouTube directly, but if I had sourced them this way copyright could have hindered what matches I had access to and what I'd be allowed to use. However, I was able to obtain all the matches through The National Box of Broadcasters (BoB). Since this project did not involve human participants, the Library/Desk/Lab/Studio-based ethics form was completed. When researching mediated material there is the potential risk of using copyrighted material. However, given that the match broadcast and The Guardian match reports are public records, this was not an ethical issue. When conducting research using human participants, there are further issues that arise with confidentiality, ethical approval of the type of research being conducted, and gathering the pool of candidates to conduct

the research. Additionally, when working with mediated content there could be the potential risk of just selecting material that fits within the narrative of the project. Thus, while conducting the analysis for this project it was imperative to make sure any quotes taken were put into the proper context of how they were said. For example, if there was any emphasis on a word statement. The fact that this mediated material is public record also allows for anyone to cross-check this information.

3.2 Data Collection - TV Commentary

All of the women's matches were provided by the BBC, and the men's were televised by ITV and Sky. For the women's matches, the commentators were Jonathan Pearce & Sue Smith. The men's matches had two different sets of commentators due to the games being shown on different channels. For the Italy and Uruguay matches it was Guy Mowbray & Phil Neville, and for the contest against Costa Rica it was Clive Tyldesley & Andy Townsend. All of the matches were obtained from BoB. Even though there was a transcript provided by BoB, it was incomplete with several lines of commentary missing. The transcripts were organised so that specific sections could be found when coding the data, so adding which commentator said what and the time it was said.

The group stages were chosen to keep a level of continuity between the two tournaments, and to eliminate conflicting interest such as different stages in the tournament (Billings et al, 2002; Cooky et al, 2013). For example, if different stages of the tournaments were chosen or different matches outside of the World Cup setting, elements outside of football could affect what the commentators say. Therefore, by focusing the scope of the research to the World Cup will eliminate most of the conflicting elements that influence what the commentary team say, such as political events that could shape the commentators view over the years. The benefits of keeping within one mediated sporting event (i.e. a World Cup) is that it provides more structured framework for the focus of the research (Billings et al, 2002). Additionally, the World Cup encourages fans to support the team from

their nation. Thus, the World Cup, as the top international football tournament, is a pertinent site to examine the discursive connections of sport, gender, and the nation as all three topics influence the event. Understanding why England as a nation holds football as a symbol will unearth what aspects of gender are present within the nationalism that surrounds football today. This links back to the notion that football is the nation's sport (Gibbons, 2011; Porter, 1980). Analysing the men's and women's matches alongside each other allowed for an understanding of how gender was working in each scenario.

3.3 Data Collection - Match Reports

The match reports were taken from the Guardian which are a summary of what has happened in the game, highlighting key events and reiterating specific context of players and teams. The best types of match reports contain all of the interesting point of the match while also keeping it short and simple (FA, 2000). There were six match reports to go alongside the full match transcripts containing details about the match. When it came to finding the match reports, I chose to access the match reports from The Guardian as they were all easily accessible from their website, searching for each on the website lead to links to all subsequent match reports. The library database was accessed first but it did not contain the match reports I was looking to use, all from the same source. Match reports were used as a more reflective viewpoint by comparing the 'in-the-moment' style commentary to the more rehearsed match report. The match reports are written after the game has finished with time to pick out key information from the contest. Each match report was analysed in the same way secondary to the commentary. Similar themes that were outlined in the match commentary were present throughout the match reports. These similarities that emerged from the data highlighted that the rehearsed view of the match reports were a fair representation of what happened in the full match commentary. Analysing any correlation between a rehearsed view of the match reports compared to the fast responses in the commentary, allowed for the responses to be mediated against each other, to check for similarities and differences between the two.

3.4 Coding

The videos of the live matches varied in the amount of pre-game and halftime footage available.

The women's matches running time were as follows: 150 minutes (England vs France), 155 minutes (England vs Mexico), and 155 minutes (Colombia). The men's: 105 minutes (England vs Italy), 105 minutes (England vs Uruguay), and 210 minutes (Costa Rica). Therefore, certain sections of the matches, such as the pre-match talk, were available for some more than others and it would not have been accurate to study the complete length of each match. For example, Eastman and Billings (2001) who analysed broadcast commentary from the start, the tip-off, to the end of the game, as in, the final whistle. This is what was used as a platform to keep continuity between all six matches, the duration of each match was therefore similar in length because the analysis only started from the first and last whistle. That is what was done in this study because of the availability of the content of the matches. Keeping the continuity of the samples used was important because of the duration was twice as long in one match compared to another, this would affect the findings.

The matches were watched in full to take full transcripts of the prescribed sections. The site that the matches were gathered from, BoB, did contain sections of transcription notes, however these were riddled with errors and missing sections, therefore it did take time to go through and listen to all six matches to gain the full body of the transcripts. The matches were watched again to highlight any emphasis on certain words or phrases, and to check for any errors. I then began the process of highlighting sections of data that stood out and grouped them together if they were similar. These codes were then grouped into similar themes that gave me the base of my findings.

Topic coding was used because it allowed the data to be placed into similar themes by grouping the sections of data together that resembled the same themes; enabling the context to be more useful in the analysis process (Sarantakos, 2005). Topic coding is when similar passages of the data are grouped together to create similar themes (Richards, 2005). The data was highlighted and placed in

similar categories at the early stage of analysis these similar codes included masculine and feminine descriptive words; such as charging or lovely. Topic coding was used above other methods due to its ability to let the data speak for itself. This meant that the first impression that was taken from the certain segment wasn't influenced by previous studies.

The initial codes that were found related to the following: inferiority, pressure, generic football commentary, backstories, feminine qualities, story structure, masculine descriptions and male domination. The way that I initially grouped the data meant that I was assuming results rather than letting the data develop naturally. This meant that I had to start from beginning again, using the same method of highlighting similar sections, but then grouping them together into different larger themes. The similar codes, at the second attempt of coding, were then grouped together to find larger themes of "man, history, and the embodiment of nationalistic sport", "men as the builders of nationhood" and "The feminization of the England women". For example, the use of personal information and infantilisation of the women footballers fed into the feminine narrative that made up the third theme. The effects of pressure and historical references linked to the form the first theme, and the second encompassed labels, comparisons to male footballers and ownership presented men as the builders of nationhood.

Topic coding allowed for the theory to emerge through the data, instead of forcing sections into categories that were already set, which is what I learnt towards at the first attempt of coding the data (Richards, 2005; Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). The codes helped to decipher the overall themes, and previous research assisted in the titles and official grouping of what code made up which category. It is important to note that the previous research only assisted in grouping the codes together, and the codes were not influenced by previous studies. For example, there was a correlation between Black and Fielding Lloyd (2017) and their finding of personal stories in the media, these findings reaffirmed the need to look into different media outlets, confirming that gender issues transfer across other media platforms.

3.5 Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

A gendered discourse analysis was used to examine the commentary (Hansen, 1999). Examining gender discourse in football focuses on critical sections of narrative that make up the commentary, such as the type of language used in describing the events (Themen, 2016). Dissecting the narrative in this way highlights what the specific stylistic techniques are that work towards constructing discourses of gender within men's and women's football. The similarities and differences in the stylistic techniques in the men's and women's narrative is surrounded by gendered ideologies, these are present within the commentary (Billings et al, 2002).

Discourse analysis derives from Foucault, and focuses on how 'objects, statements and ways of thinking are produced and given meaning by discourse (Walters et al, 2012, pg 243). Discourse analysis enabled the content of transcripts to be examined, whilst also examining the social meaning behind the words spoken by commentators (Sarantakos, 2005). For example, the specific reasons behind what types of words that are used, for example masculine or feminine descriptions. Understanding the role of language in discursive practices helped with the overall understanding of the larger gender issues at work within the sport media paradigm (Mean and Halone, 2010). This was because uncovering the discourse highlighted the ideologies that feed the gender differences in this study.

Issues of gender in the media can be visible across a large pool of mediums, such as TV, social media and newspapers, making the images and language used in these outlets very important. This project focuses on the language within commentary and match reports to focus the gendered lens that surrounds football. The relationship between media outlets and society is complex (Crolley and Teso, 2007), therefore being able to use discourse analysis as a tool enabled the commentary and match reports to be understood within football ideologies that are present today (Barnfield, 2013). Using discourse analysis involves examining texts for underlying discourses that the language

portrays, and of how language reflects structures and patterns in current contexts (Nash, 2016; Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). Complex structures effect football on national levels, therefore this was the best tool to decipher the intricacies of the World Cup matches.

Through these methods I was able to uncover three areas where men's dominance of football came across in the commentary and match reports. The main themes center around the embodiment of men's football as the historical norm that surrounds the game. Men build the image of the nation through multiple techniques that reinforce stereotypical beliefs, and women footballers continue to be feminized with the use of a feminine narrative throughout the games used in this study. By using a mixture of topic coding and discourse analysis I was able to understand the reasoning behind the language and why it was used, and importantly how this recreates gender issues in the modern game of football. Throughout the next section, specific segments of data will be analysed in greater detail to uncover the specific findings that fed into the overarching finding of men's dominance in English football.

Chapter 4: Discussion of Results

During this chapter I will analyse the overarching finding that the World Cup commentary continues the reproduction of men's dominance in football. Taking specific sections of commentary, and match report, I will uncover the meaning behind the language used in each theme. These themes recreate aspects of stereotypical norms that enhance footballs image as masculine.

4.1 Man, history, and the embodiment of nationalistic sport

The commentary of the men's matches frequently situated the current team within historical discourses of English football. This helped to reproduce the link between men's football to English national identity. Additionally, these historical connections also preserve discourses that situated the men as facing more pressure than the women. This is demonstrated during the men's last match against Costa Rica:

“It was the team of Shilton, Lineker, Barnes, Hoddle, Adams and Woddle. They got a lot of stick. Bobby Robson got the usual abusive headline treatment 2 years later with the addition of Gascoigne, Walker that same squad reach the semi-finals in the 1990 World Cup.” (MOTD Fifa World Cup replay: England v Costa Rica, 2014 pg1)

References to previous World Cup tournaments is how the men’s team confirms their position of the national team, reaffirming their standing in society as the nation's favourite sport (Free, 2005). In this example, a list of recognisable names is mentioned such as ‘Shilton, Lineker, Barnes, Hoddle, Adams and Woddle’, this highlights the history of the men’s team by reiterating well-known names of past players. This emphasises the men’s history in football. The men’s commentary constantly referred to previous World Cup tournaments which helps to reinforce football as masculine. For example, in the men’s opening group match against Italy:

“An impromptu drinks break. Temperature not deemed hot enough to have a proper cooling break, to avoid the farce of the 1994 World Cup in the USA.” (MOTD Fifa World Cup replay: England v Italy, 2014 pg 23)

This pattern can also be observed in the match commentary against Uruguay:

“I was speaking to Paulo Sergio a world cup winner in 1990, formerly of Brazil this morning, and he said Raheem Sterling is the closest thing to the Brazilian team of an England footballer, that is some complement.” (MOTD Fifa World Cup replay: England v Uruguay, 2014 pg9)

The specific use of mentioning the ‘1994 World Cup’ emphasises history of the men’s game. As well as reminding the audience of the history of previous matches, mentioning well known footballers allows for the context of the men’s matches to be perceived on a much grander scale than the women’s. The grandness of the men’s matches comes from the ideology behind men’s football as

the nation's favourite sport therefore the nostalgic element of referring back to previous tournaments reinforces traditions that are linked to historical ideals about men's football (Kennedy, 2000). Looking at this section from the last match commentary against Costa Rica, but specifically at the section in italics:

"Only once have England left a major tournament without a single point, *it's worth remembering* that this team that drew a blank it was in the 88' European Championships" (MOTD Fifa World Cup replay: England v Costa Rica, 2014 pg1)

The specific use of the phrase '*it's worth remembering*' insinuates how the men's tournament is expressed as more of the norm in the specifics of football history (Wolter, 2015). The public can remember that men's football has a history, but for the majority of the public, the history of women's football is limited to the last few years. The history and longevity of the men's game continues to be mentioned to emphasize this point further. This knowledge has transformed itself into the commentary through talking about the recent history of the women's game to provide context for the audience in current times.

Commentary of the Women's World Cup emphasised the present as opposed to the historic. The commentators tended to focus on the occurrences of the Women's Super League, as opposed to the historical accomplishments of the women's team:

"Chapman has a yellow card. The rock of Arsenal's quadruple a few years ago. 5 years she spent there. She's at Chelsea these days." (Women's World Cup: England v France, 2015 pg29)

As seen again here in the match commentary against Mexico when talking about specific players:

“Jill Scott, winning the throw, 93 internationals for England now Jill, from the North East originally now she’s at Manchester City now and playing well this season. A crazy sending-off for getting involved at Arsenal, hit out at Jade Bailey.” (Women’s World Cup: England v Mexico, 2015 pg7)

Sections such as this help to familiarize the audience with the ins and outs of the women’s league and the players themselves. Descriptions such as this also highlight the differences in the public’s awareness of the women’s game. Linking the men’s game to previous World Cup’s or other past tournaments creates a narrative that positions men’s football as a deep tradition in England. The opposite outcome is created for the women’s game, as there isn’t as much tradition and history associated with it. Recent historical references seek to highlight the short falls of the women’s game compared to the men’s.

Mentioning the teams and their performance in the WSL provides the viewer with information that they may not know. The commentators assume the public watching the event do not know this information, showcasing the gaps in society’s knowledge of the women’s game; this lack of knowledge leads to women’s football being undervalued in society and further trivialises the game to the audience watching (Pfister, 2015; Liden and Billings, 2013). Even though the commentators are providing context to the match that is happening in front of them, the information makes the game seem less important because the audience doesn’t already know the standings of the league. This information is presented as a mini biography of where the players have come from, filling in gaps in information that may not be known to the viewer such as the position of the women’s league and the ability of the women players, seen again here in the first match against France for the women:

“Good competitive spirit within the England squad as well the rival super league players. Chelsea are on top at the moment by a couple of points against Arsenal, Notts in third place, then on down through to Sunderland and Liverpool and Man City, Birmingham. Bristol are struggling at the moment at the bottom, Bristol Academy Mark Sampson's former Club of course, he took them to the Cup Final.” (Women's World Cup: England v France, 2015 pg12)

The miniature story of what is happening in the women's super league, rounds up the missing information the viewer may not know. The absence of this commentary in the men's matches assumes that the audience may already be familiar with this information (Kuo, 2003; Pfister, 2015). The wider range of coverage given to the men's game helps to perpetuate this. The agenda setting role of the media in footballs instance is to continue the distribution of men's football (McCombs, 2004). Meaning that as long as commentators, directly or indirectly, reproduce differences between the men's and women's game, the sport will continue to reproduce the sports male norm.

4.1.1 Pressures influence on the game

The historical connections made to the men's team result in added pressure to recreate the success of England's World Cup win in 1966. This comes in the form of wanting England to do well, and to perform to high standards. The expectation of the nation perpetuated by the media helps to reaffirm football and nationhood as a masculine endeavour. In turn this helps position the women's game as secondary to the men. It is men's football that is the nation's favourite sport, not women's.

For the men, the pressure is laid on thick throughout the match commentary against Italy:

“The England supporters in the crowd in a contemplative mood. What do you think their mood will be overall, in terms of how pleased they will be over the performance

of the players that they've paid so much to see over here?" (MOTD Fifa World Cup replay: England v Italy, 2014 pg 29)

Seen again here right at the beginning of the coverage:

"It's always difficult, as an England supporter, to enjoy these occasions. So much expectation."
(MOTD Fifa World Cup replay: England v Italy, 2014 pg 13)

The focus is on the possibility of defeat. The pressure for men to perform and meet the ideal masculine image of success is increased tenfold within the football arena. Football is consumed with masculinities, therefore to fail tarnishes their masculine image, and the image of the nation (Pfister, 2015; Harris and Clayton, 2002; Boyle and Haynes, 2004). The failure of progressing is emphasised and increasing pressure further from the fans back home:

"One thing they are going to have to learn is to take it on the chin the younger players, they will go back home and people won't be happy, unconvinced about them at all.

They will accept that, be brave enough to fight at the next opportunity you get." (MOTD Fifa World Cup replay: England v Costa Rica, 2014 pg25)

The commentary team acknowledge the position that men's football is in when they fail to live up to the public's standards back home. This draws on the notion of an imagined community, which the men's team embodies, they are then put under a cloud of pressure to meet this imagined standard of the nation. The men's team will have to grow accustomed to the pressure that comes along with the high admiration, and even though there is pressure on the women, it is not the same as the constant barrage to achieve to masculine notions of success. Opportunities for the women footballers in the UK are on the increase, but the elite of women's football do not have to contend with the fame or fortune that the men do (Edwards et al, 2015; Jones and Edwards, 2013). Seen here in the commentary against Mexico:

“I think that is why people like the women's game, it is a lot more. You can approach the girls and chat to them and they will sign autographs for you. They get a lot of followers because of that. Less pressure on them (the women's team) of course I guess in a way. Less commercial demands, less money in the sport. But it is lovely to be here when England are winning” (Women's World Cup: England v Mexico, 2015 pg23)

Women's football is not as 'big' as men's and therefore does not lead to as much media attention (Kristiansen et al, 2014). Pressure mentioned again here in the women's last group match when explain the more relaxed feel of the women's game, in the commentary:

“That is what we talk about in the women's Super League, when you come to watch games, it has that family feeling about it. I will add though as a rider to all of that, of course, there is a huge, huge deal more pressure on the men in the men's game. With the finances of it all and everything about that game” (Women's World Cup: England v Colombia, 2015 pg11)

This relaxed feel of the game is reiterated with the added use of '*family feeling*' which feminises the women's game. Teaming less pressure with the family creates less urgency and therefore less competitiveness, conforming to women's gender norm. Less pressure can also then assume that the women do not have to work as hard, as they don't have to meet the same society demands as the men. The nation's favourite sport is focused around aggression, the women's game focuses on elements that reinforce their secondary status. Therefore women's football does not represent the ideal image to represent the nation's favourite sport.

4.2 Men as the builders of Nationhood

Men historically build the image of a nation because men and 'masculinity' become the cornerstone for a nation's national identity. Football is also associated as being a key part of the nation's image, most notably meaning men's football as the symbol of the nation. The predominant image of men's

football that is associated with being English, cast's women into secondary status to the men's game. This affects the representation of the men's and women's games in match commentary, in this instance possession of the game shows itself in two different ways; the women have men possessing the game over them setting them apart as secondary, and the men's game is possessed by the nation. Men continue to dominate football, only eight of the 24 managers at the women's World Cup were female (Moore, 2015). The success of the players is attributed to their coach, Mark Sampson. In the match report for the match against Colombia they were called 'Sampson's players' (Taylor, 2015c). The ownership of 'his players' also draws on infantilisation, placing them in secondary status to him (Richardson, 2009; Bigler and Leaper, 2015; Cookey et al, 2015). And here is a quite vivid example of the control Mark Sampson has in the commentary of the match against Mexico:

“Mark Sampson has gone more adventurous this time. *He has left them off the shackle* that he had them under in the first game.” (Women's World Cup: England v Mexico, 2015 pg1)

The use of him allowing them, or releasing them, brings the focus back to Sampson highlighting their secondary position. The relationship between him and his players emphasizes the power relations between men in positions of power in the women's environment (Black and Fielding- Lloyd, 2017). The additional use of 'his players' adds another dimension to his position above the women; by labelling them as 'his' it pushes the women into a more subjective position just like when women are referred to as their status as wives, mothers or girlfriends (Cookey et al, 2015). The commentators are showing that the women are not in positions of power. The credit goes to Mark Sampson above the players. This is echoed within Taylor's (2015c) match report which offers 'This was Mark Sampson's night though...' as the concluding statement. This is also reiterated in the match commentary:

“... Mark Sampson's team have done it, two victories in their second and third group games...” (Women's World Cup: England v Colombia, 2015 pg36)

The constant referral to the women's team being 'his' is a stark reminder of how masculinity can define women's position in football. Women are being defined by being categorised in this way, placing them as his team, their victory is not their own. Women have to battle through many different structural elements being in the football field, but having to battle through issues in the media along with issues within football itself and just some of the contributing factors that are marginalising the sport (Kristiansen et al, 2014). The relational power between groups re-directs power and focus to the stereotypically dominant group (Black and Fielding Lloyd, 2017). Not allowing the women their own victory means that power is taken from them, redirecting it back to Mark Sampson, again reaffirming the women's game as secondary to the men's. This reaffirms men's domination further by directing the focus away from the achievement of women.

Within the commentary for the Men's World Cup, the concept of possession is framed in a completely different way. The men's football team is possessed by the fans and by England itself, reaffirming the masculinities in the game and status as a national symbol. Since football is the nation's favourite sport it is understandable that the symbol of the nation holds a large investment in the sport (BBC, 2015). The discourse of 'the nation' is visible in the data through the use of the terms such as 'we' and 'us'. For example:

“We can't let the Uruguayans frustrate us” (MOTD Fifa World Cup replay: England v

Uruguay, 2014 pg13)

Here possession is transferred to the viewer which creates a sense of belonging and togetherness, associated with the concept of a nation. Performances of masculinity and national identity are teamed together (Free, 2005) within the data. The use of 'us/we' craft the ideologies that 'evoke the sense of national identity' (Vincent et al, 2010, pg 202). The use of these pronouns solidifies the feeling of belonging to the nation, but it is through the site of the men that English citizens are

supposed to come together. Not only does the use of the terms like 'us' and 'we' enable the symbol of football to maintain the masculine image, it also solidifies it as the sport of the nation (Free, 2005; Clark and Paechter, 2007):

"We've attacked. We've played well. We've kept possession well. We've been the better team. We've had two lapses in concentration that have cost us dearly." (MOTD Fifa World Cup replay: England v Uruguay, 2014 pg33)

Also seen here in the first match commentary against Italy:

"One minute we are defending on the box, next we are counter-attacking." (MOTD Fifa World Cup replay: England v Italy, 2014 pg2)

"We want our players to be on the front foot. We've started well" (MOTD Fifa World Cup replay: England v Italy, 2014 pg3)

Familiarisation of the men's team is continued with the use of 'we': men's football is the sport of the nation and 'we' solidifies the concept of togetherness. The more familiar the description, the more the event can become normalized in the eyes of the public and therefore a part football culture (Clark and Paechter, 2007). This creates a cycle of men's football as the favoured sport of England. Terms such as 'us' creates a sense of belonging. This helps to create a discourse that recognises football as a sport for the individual and the sport of the nation. Depicting football culture in the commentary like this shows that football is accepted as part of England's norm, continually describing them as 'us' and 'we' will increase the acceptance of this notion (Coakley and

Pike, 2009). The term 'us' is also used in the same context here in the commentary against Italy:

“England seem to be doing a lot of chasing. Don’t think they’ll mind at the minute, I don’t think they’re causing us a problem” (MOTD Fifa World Cup replay: England v Italy, 2014 pg4)

Repeating terms like ‘us’ and ‘we’ throughout the men’s matches continually reiterates the power that the men’s national team has in England. Incorporating these terms helps to strengthen English tradition by tapping into the aspects of nationhood that signify what a community is (Vincent et al, 2000). Men hold significance in football, whether that be the players themselves or as an image for the nation.

4.2.1 Women being compared to men

Comparisons to men were used repeatedly throughout the commentary when the women were playing well. The repetition of this as a descriptive tool emphasizes the focus back to the men’s game. Sections within the women’s matches were dedicated to talking about male football players or comparing the performance of women to men. The natural thought process for the commentators was to compare female footballers to male footballers because women’s success has to be measured against something (Black and Fielding-Lloyd, 2017; Biscumb and Griggs, 2012; Fielding-Lloyd and Mean, 2011). In this case it was something physical with Jill Scott’s height is compared to that of Peter Crouch in the second match against Mexico:

“Her nickname is Crouch because she has long legs and all so similar to him, she’s got good feet like he has... Does she dance like him?” (Women’s World Cup: England v Mexico, 2015 pg21)

Not only is the physicality compared but also the specifics of their character of the both of them.

They are meant to be similar in physical terms because of their height, but their similar dancing styles are questioned rather than her playing capability. Comparing women with men is a technique used to emphasize gender stereotypes in regard to their performance (Pfister, 2015). The continued

use of referring back to men in order to describe the women's performance reinforces norms of men's dominance in football. Commentators may not intentionally use this as a stylistic technique but it does directly and indirectly have an impact of the image of women's football as secondary. Techniques such as this have become the norm when comparing women's performance to something. This can also help the audience relate to the players, using well known players to compare them to will hint at their style of play and what they are like. Seen again here:

"The French compare the pace of Elodie Thomis to the pace of Thierry Henry in his pomp" (Women's World Cup: England v France, 2015 pg9)

The cultural significance of comparing women footballers to men ends up marginalizing women footballers further. One of the key for the England Women's team was Fran Kirby. She scored the first goal in the tournament against Mexico in the seventieth minute, and assisted with most of the positive play created in the entire match. Her sporting skill was so prolific that, in the match report of the match against Mexico, she was given the nickname '... his Mini Messi...' (Taylor, 2015b). Previous research has suggested that when female athletes display skill which exceeds that of a normal woman that adheres to stereotypical gender norms, her skill and talent therefore must be compared to a male role model (Stevenson, 2002; Black and Fielding-Lloyd, 2017). Seen again here when Lady Andrade is compared to being like Mata in the women's final match commentary:

"The new Mata, they called her after that tournament. High praise indeed. Mata, what a player." (Women's World Cup: England v Colombia, 2015 pg28)

Lady Andrade's performance is checked against Mata's, used as a compliment, but this means that her success is not her own. The standing of her performance is put secondary to her comparison to Mata. Notions of male domination of football in this way are a reminder of how masculinity can define the position of women in football. The women's game has tried to overcome issues such as this by separating their image from the men's game.

4.2.2 'The Lionesses'

The Women's football squad has been given the label 'The Lionesses'. The term 'Three Lions on his shirt' hold significance to the men's team, but in this World Cup commentary there was no mention of it. There was repeated use of the term 'Lionesses'. The creation of this label is giving the women something to possess, as the men used to in previous World Cup campaigns. But by using the label 'Lionesses' it connotes a larger issue in women's football, as Amos (2016) argues is in his article that the team names given to women's teams picture them as physically inferior to men. Lionesses depicts the attempt of a strong caption but the use of labels in front of team names suggests the same issues of inferiority. The creation of the 'Lionesses' only sets to intensify the position of football and women footballers as outsiders (Black and Fielding Lloyd, 2017); instead of the term 'Lionesses' being used as positive inclusive way, it merely sets them aside as secondary. It was used as the slogan for their entire World Cup campaign (and current campaigns) to build momentum for their tournament, seen here in the match commentary against Colombia:

"Mark Sampson looks on his Lionesses will kick off and get us underway" (Women's World Cup: England v Colombia, 2015 pg2)

Another example of Mark Sampson's ownership over the team is mentioned again. The slogan was reinforced as they were guaranteed to qualify in the last match report:

"After a shaky start to Canada 2015 the Lionesses ended up second in Group F..."
(Taylor, 2015c)

There are other examples of how labels have been used in the same fashion. Casual terminology as this may not appear to signify much, but language affects other people's social cognitions and behaviour (Bigler and Leaper, 2015; Waxman, 2013) and when terminology comes about that segregates female athletes. Attempts to promote women's football, with the use of 'Lionesses' only

serves as a reflection of the gap between the men's and women's game. Men personify what it means to be English, therefore the women's game is counteractive to that image. The symbolic meaning behind the use of the label 'Lioness', is something that the women can hold onto as their image in the masculine terrain of football. The use of comparisons to the men's game, male football players, and the use of different labels, intensifies the inequity of the women's game. There is currently the belief that only the men are creating the standard, the use of role models in this way intensifies the gender gap further. Through Mark Sampson's ownership of the women's team's success and the use of comparing the women to other male football players, this continues to reinforce the relationship between men's football and the nation.

4.3 The feminization of the England Women

In the comparison of the World Cup commentary, differences of descriptions between the men and women were littered throughout the matches. The feminization of the England women occurs through the descriptions used upon them. These descriptions add to them appearing more feminine. The England women are feminized in three major ways: through the creation of a feminine narrative, retelling of their personal stories and infantilisation. The feminine narrative is different narrative style compared to what is considered normal in a football match because it draws upon different focal points. These focal points can be different feminising descriptions of the physical characteristics of the women football players which draws attention away from the match content. For example the commentators frequently, characterised Jill Scott as one of the key, big personalities of the England team, seen in the following commentaries:

"You mentioned Jill Scott's character around the dressing room, she will have been dancing and making the girls laugh, keeping them relaxed. She is good to have in and around the big games." (Women's World Cup: England v France, 2015 pg4)

“Yeh, she’s brilliant Jill Scott, such a character, she’ll definitely have been dancing and keeping all the girls calm because it is a high-pressure situation they understand that.”

(Women’s World Cup: England v Mexico, 2015 pg5)

Prior research has found that when commentators are describing female athletes is that they frequently overemphasize certain feminine qualities about athlete’s appearance, and other traditionally feminine qualities (Wensing and Bruce, 2003; Elueze and Jones, 1998; Pirinen, 1997). This is seen within the emphasis on the perceived feminine characteristics of Jill Scott. The depth of these characteristics draws attention away from skill as an athlete and towards her personality, which in turn emphasises the feminine qualities of her character, such as her relationship with her teammates ‘dancing and making the girls laugh’. This example shows that Jill Scott is able to keep her femininity whilst taking part in football, questioning the ideology of women losing their femininity when playing such a masculine sport (Messner, 1988). The discussion of the player’s personalities is also present when the commentators discuss Alex Scott in the match against France:

“You were just mentioning Alex Scott will be the one who does the music choices. As she is getting older, I wonder if one of the younger ones will come through and take that responsibility.” (Women’s World Cup: England v France, 2015 pg6)

Her personality traits that are described here are not relational to her capability as a footballer. The discussion of Alex Scott and the younger players focuses on relationships which in turn feminizes them and the women’s game. This helps to class women footballers as ‘other’, emphasising elements that aren’t relevant to the game. Different narratives, as explained earlier Kennedy (2000) and Wolter (2015), state that there are different stylistic techniques used to represent men’s and women’s sports. In women’s sports, the feminine narrative is emphasized throughout. Personal stories about the women emphasize discourses of traditional femininity. Seen again here with the description of the ‘friendly atmosphere’ in the second match for the women:

“Such a friendly atmosphere around the England camp. Something that I have really noticed, my first women’s Cup Final, all of those players are happy to mix and chat to you, meeting friends and family, altogether” (Women’s World Cup: England v France, 2015 pg30)

The emphasis on the ‘friendly atmosphere’ is unusual when discussing competitive team sport at an elite national level. The stereotypical image for a nation’s team is aggression and strength, with focusing on ‘friendly’ it connotes a less aggressive national image (Free, 2005). There was a difference in how the men were presented in the commentary, teaming weaknesses with masculine that promote the normal national image. For example, Ross Barkley, even though he was young at the time is described as this in the men’s first match against Italy:

“A wonderful talent, Ross Barkley, he won’t be scared of this situation. He is the player that everyone was calling for to be selected” (MOTD Fifa World Cup replay: England v Italy, 2014 pg22)

The emphasis is of him not being ‘scared’ of the World Cup tournament, because of his youth. The depiction of strength is also seen when describing England's defenders:

“Gary Cahill and Phil Jagielka are unbeaten in 13 games they started together. Neither have suffered defeat at any competitive international they have played.” (MOTD Fifa World Cup replay: England v Italy, 2014 pg8)

By emphasising their achievements it suggests that they are invincible, as a pair they have not been beaten. If they were described as being a ‘friendly’, their image would not be as threatening. Seen here again with Welbeck in the men’s first match against Italy:

“... one-on-one with Paletta, such a fighter is Welbeck.” (MOTD Fifa World Cup replay:

England v Italy, 2014 pg15)

Men are represented as being strong, skilled and independent, reaffirming again how women are the different with the focus on things unrelated to football, such as passing down who will make the music choices in the future (Licen and Billings, 2013). The focus of the commentary is on their heterosexually appropriate roles in society, highlighting aspects other than their sporting skill (Cookey et al, 2015). This results in a discourse that leans towards the unpopularity of women's football to larger audiences as they don't represent stereotypical football norms (Pfister, 2015). By focusing on aspects other than the players sporting skill, it draws attention away from the match play and the aspects of the game that would be picked up on in the men's matches. Therefore creating a gendered difference in the way that men and women footballers as described in the context of match play.

The gendering of both teams is also perpetuated through in the same commentary. For example the following description of Joe Hart:

"Joe Hart is watching and catching it. He ignored the bodies charging towards him"

(MOTD Fifa World Cup replay: England v Uruguay, 2014 pg10)

Joe Hart's masculinity is exhibited through the strength of his actions. But the description of Karen Bardsley here could not be more different in the match report against Mexico:

"English hearts were in mouths but Bardsley atoned for her earlier misjudgement by saving splendidly with her legs" (Taylor, 2015b)

The difference here is the expression of strength, with Joe Hart being commended for standing up to the 'charging' players and Karen Bardsley is applauded with an impressive way of saving the ball. However, this description manages to take the focus away from her brilliant save and more on how 'splendid' she looked. Views about gender and athleticism help to shape the descriptive words used

when describing men and women in a sporting context (Wolter, 2015). Similar feminine descriptions can be seen in the match commentary against Mexico:

“Mayor, got it beyond Lucy Bronze. Lovely skill there.” (Women’s World Cup: England v Mexico, 2015 pg10)

The term ‘lovely’ is used again when describing Fran Kirby a couple of minutes after:

“Very well-balanced. Kirby. Lovely touch there... That came from Kirby’s lovely touch around the corner because by doing that one and two touch.” (Women’s World Cup: England v Mexico, 2015 pg12)

Compared to the men’s matches the word ‘lovely’ isn’t used once. More similar descriptions to the one below in the match commentary against Uruguay:

“Ross Barkley looks fearless for me playing for England. When he gets on that pitch, he says, Give me that ball. I’m going to do something special.” (MOTD Fifa World Cup replay: England v Uruguay, 2014 pg30)

Focusing on the skill and the power in their descriptions heightens the masculinity of the players (Anderson, 2002). The physicality and athleticism of players is one of the major discourses in portraying hegemonic masculinity further, with any reference to it usually emphasizing it as a desirable trait within the ideological context of football (Themen, 2016). Therefore, portraying the men as being stronger than the women reinforces stereotypical gender norms further by separating them by their strength on the football field.

4.3.1 The use of personal stories vs game commentary

The telling of personal stories of women footballers is another way commentary reaffirms stereotypical norms. Personal stories of the women are numerous in comparison to the men’s. The

hardships that the women have gone through is a topic that commentary team continue to mention in the match against Colombia:

“They are in a good place now. Karen Carney, having heard that interview, sadness in the interview, but also courage to have come out of that very dark place in which she lingered for so long, and people from the outside didn't know. She was a star for England, she was a star for her clubs. But that was going on in the background. We will have a chance to talk about that in a moment, I think, because she is not the only player out there who has been in dark places in her life. Here's Fara Williams who spent a long time effectively as a homeless person in her early years.” (Women's World Cup: England v Colombia, 2015 pg10)

The 'dark place' that is in reference to when she experiences depression and used to self-harm. After the win against Mexico she expressed how she was helped through her depression by Laura Bassett (Crookes, 2015). The mention of Fara Williams struggles with homelessness straight after this very personal story continue to draw attention to the players personal lives rather than to their playing ability (Duncan et al, 1990). This again focuses on the gender difference between men's and women's football. Emotional struggle and times of hardship is the norm, in terms of commentators discussion, this is not a major factor in the men's match commentary. By focusing on other aspects in the match other than the game play conforms to notions of femininity with women's athletic ability being side-lined to their roles as wives or mothers, and as secondary. One of the personal stories that garners a lot of attention in the commentary is the loss of a parent that Fran Kirby suffered a number of years ago explained here in the second match commentary against Mexico:

“Kirby with a neat turn, getting into the game now. Been at Reading since she was 8 years of age... Fran sadly lost her mum a few years ago, lost her head in the game at Reading go her back into it that's why she stayed there.” (Women's World Cup: England v Mexico, 2015 pg9)

The first line of the match report starts with the reiteration of Fran Kirby's personal loss:

"Four years after quitting football due to severe depression, Fran Kirby marked her return to health and happiness by scoring the opening goal of a desperately needed England victory" (Taylor, 2015b)

This is an element of the narrative made by the commentators. The bravery of the players opening up about these sorts of stories is commended by the commentators in the final match:

"I just think a lot of players have come out and said a lot of things, like you say, quite dark, and these girls are an inspiration to a lot of people who may be struggling with those sorts of things. The fact that they have got over them, they are playing for their country, and I think it is very brave of them to actually come out and say what they have said... There is a lot of openness about the whole camp. Very lucky to be here and be a part of it." (Women's World Cup: England v Colombia, 2015 pg11)

The commentators use these stories positively and to portray the footballers as relatable, to normalise them in the eyes of the public. Wolter (2015) explained that in feminine narratives feminine qualities such as the expression of emotion can be used as a stylistic technique. This becomes an issue when different descriptions are used to describe the same sport. Throughout the women's matches and match reports, referral to these personal stories is paramount for their narrative, but not in the men's. These types of narratives were not present in the commentary from the men's World Cup. Because football has been traditionally designed for men as a masculine pursuit (McDowell and Schaffner, 2011; Kouivula, 2001). The mention of Katie Chapman's issues with childcare is a story that also helps to draw attention to the traditional role of women as the caregiver as the men don't have the issue of taking time off to have children:

"She only just came back into the England reckoning in March in the Cyprus cup, Katie Chapman. She had been out of the side for four years, after having children... All three of

her boys are here, so that is nice... Wasn't there a bit of a row over child care and who would pay for what if she was on England duty?... Yeh that was the reason she was out of the setup for so long. Her performance at club level has been very good and that is why Mark Sampson called her back into the squad. She's obviously starting now."

(Women's World Cup: England v France, 2015 pg 17)

There are several issues with this passage, it mentions the issues the women face not being paid as much as the men. The 'row over child care' was about who would pay for it while she was away on England duty, highlighting how the women are not as secure playing full time as the men. Issues that women face out in society are shown here at the elite level of football. The issue of childcare is not considered an issue for men for two reasons: the first they do not have to take time out during the pregnancy (Moore, 2015), and secondly because all of the England men are in Premier League teams they have no monetary constraints that will cause them issues that the women face.

Categorization of subjects such as this show how gender stereotypes are created and redistributed (Black and Fielding-Lloyd, 2017). It also hints towards the preferred heterosexual image of women athletes displaying hegemonic femininity (Krane et al, 2004) and role as primary caregiver. Stories such as this reinforce the stereotypical norm of what a woman should be in society. Women in football have to go against normal feminine behaviour in order to take part in sport (Markula, 2003) almost measuring them against their femininity (Cookey et al, 2015). By mentioning personal issues such as child care, this reminds the audience of the hegemonic femininity that is still part of the women footballers as a national athlete.

Stories about player's injuries are in both sets of commentary and both exhibit a more personal way of describing the injury by delving into more detail about it. For example, the continued talk in the match against Uruguay about Suarez and the very recent knee operation before the tournament started is a main focal point for the commentary team, where they are worried for his fitness. But

in the women's matches the focus is pulled towards the psychological aspect of the injury, discussed in the match commentary against Mexico:

"Three cruciate injuries, three big operations... I think going back to Claire Rafferty, [she] struggled with the psychological effect of that. One injury after another. She's worked really heavily with a psychologist and seems to be stronger than ever now" (Women's World Cup: England v Mexico, 2015 pg19)

Adding the information about the psychologist is a way the commenters personalise her story, which adds another dimension to the creation of the narrative of the commentary, creating a very personal, relatable picture of the players. Emphasis on the psychologist seen again here in the women's first match commentary against France:

"They have worked hard with a sports psychologist here. If you go behind, this is the mind-set, if we lose against France this is the mind-set to take to the next game. That's the way they are working" (Women's World Cup: England v France, 2015 pg12)

"... they have worked a lot with psychologists, especially this tournament" (Women's World Cup: England v France, 2015 pg8)

The way the commentators go into detail about the mind-set of the athletes, specifically the women, highlights the argument of women being mentally unsure (Sterkenberge and Knoppers, 2004), even though the commentators are explaining how strong the women are mentally, by merely mentioning their mental states it opens the door for doubt about their strength as a national athlete. But they also highlight that the women seek help. The article by Varley (2017) also emphasises the battle Karen Carney had with depression, and that she depended on others to get her back to feeling better. Ross and Shinew (2008) state how men have to subdue their feminine qualities in sporting environments, emphasising more importance on masculine behaviours.

Commentary teams emphasise feminine qualities in the women's matches and masculine qualities in the men to pull on stereotypical characteristics in the context of football.

The men's matches are covered in a different type of story, which is not personal, but more along the lines of traditional football commentary. This style focuses on masculine qualities. Traditional football commentary is typical aspects that would be expected in the commentary of football, for example a description of what is happening, or statistics related to the match (Kennedy, 2000). These stories achieve a constant cycle of returning to the match at hand being the focal point for the commentators. There is a long section of commentary devoted to the match play, for example:

“Henderson, Welbeck, Sturridge. Successfully held off by Marchisio. Baines, Sterling was on the move, into a good position but lost possession. Rooney only temporarily won it back. Given away, good strike, but wide by Danny Welbeck. Italy very nearly caught out by being too casual in clearing the ball.” (MOTD Fifa World Cup replay: England v Italy, 2014 pg5)

Sections such as this can continue in a similar fashion for over five minutes of commentary. In the final match, against Costa Rica, there are a couple of instances of this happening ranging from eight minutes of game talk to five minutes more towards the end of the match. Wolter (2015) suggested that the narratives of men's and women's matches were different because male viewers prefer a more fact-based narrative, and women prefer a more personalised story, which also assumes that viewing football is also gendered. This has translated through to the commentators, so they present the matches in a way which matches the preferences of the dominant audience, male viewers watching male football and female viewers watching female football. Seen again here in the commentary against Uruguay:

“Uruguay on the back foot. Henderson, smartly out of the way of that Roderegez lunge, here's Barkley, Rooney. Barkley did brilliantly to get that one out to Baines. Baines ball

in Gimenez in the right place to get the ball away for Uruguay. Johnson, Sturridge thought he was impeded by Parreira. Suarez trying to draw the foul, put his bum into the back of Cahill. He bought the foul. He just saw Gary Cahill coming and collapsed on the floor. That is experience for you. Danny Welbeck is coming off. Coming on in his place is Adam Lallana. Two changes made by Roy Hodgson.” (MOTD Fifa World Cup replay: England v Uruguay, 2014 pg30)

This section continues for a further four minutes. Differences such as the finding of gendered narratives is something that is considered a staple in all commentary, the match talk, can be used in a way to increase the disparities between men’s and women’s football. The match talk seen here is the reiteration of what is happening in front of the commentators. A masculine narrative is lacking some emotional connection which focuses on the content of the match instead of the stories surrounding it (Daddario, 1997). The women’s matches are presented in this way meaning they need extra parts to their commentary, such as the addition of the personal stories and background information, in order to make their narratives more appealing. There are sections in the women’s matches that are solely left for the detail going on in front of the commentary team, similar to men’s matches, but these sections are few and far between and very short in length. The men’s matches are sufficient in their content without these additions, a trait that Kennedy (2000, pg 72) explains is simply ‘clarity’, which is the notion that the men’s matches stick to the match that is unfolding in front of them; diversions tend to be minimal.

Because football is such a large part of confirming to masculinities, the masculine discourse continues the cycle through the football commentary. With less time spent talking about what’s happening within the match it opens up the argument that the football is not worth watching (Pielichaty, 2015), hinting that there is nothing of interest happening in the match itself. The commentators are able to constantly link all aspects of commentary back to football in the men’s matches reiterates the ‘familiarisation of women’ athletes and the confirmation of a female

narrative existing in football commentary (Crolley and Teso, 2007). Gender is yet again confirmed as a technique to divide the same sport further apart from each other (Wenner, 2014). The technique of using different narrative styles between men and women only seeks to set them further apart.

4.3.2 Infantilisation

One of the most overlooked aspects of the women's sports commentary is the use of the label 'girls'. The use of infantilisation throughout women's commentary is one of the stylistic techniques that subtly effects the gender gap in football and other sport. The term girl has been associated with weakness, vulnerability and invisibility (Valentine, 2004; Jeanes, 2011). Therefore, the constant repetition of the term 'girls' in this narrative create this weaker character, seen here in the first match against France:

"The girls need to work very hard today. The players he has picked will work hard" (Women's World Cup: England v France, 2015 pg2)

Six minutes into the game and the national team of England were been referred to as 'girls'. Even though the term 'girl' was being used in a way to talk about the team as a collective, the ideological underpinnings (such as youth and frailty) mean that it is interpreted in a negative, derogatory way which adds to minimizing their athletic skill (Fenton, 2016). By representing them as girls, the symbolic threat that would usually be associated within a sporting environment is not expressed (Wensing and Bruce, 2003; Duncan et al, 1990), made even more clear here as the Mexican team are also subjected to being called 'girls':

"I was, myself, a bit concerned with the new formation. The girls will probably not have played that before." (Women's World Cup: England v France, 2015 pg9)

"These girls aren't afraid to shoot from range." (Women's World Cup: England v

Mexico, 2015 pg20)

'Girls' connotes a less extreme image of an athlete that is therefore not going to be as aggressive as the men. In the simplest term, a girl is a child, this add to the non-aggressive image of women athletes when they are described as girls. It demeans their performance and ultimately classes their performance as second class (Piriren, 1997; Jones et al, 1999). There are other ways in the first match against France that infantilising comments have also been made to the detriment of their sportsmen like image:

"... England have done their homework pretty well..." (Women's World Cup: England v France, 2015 pg21)

Followed by this later on when talking about Fran Kirby:

"... she has been poorly, we spoke to her yesterday and she said she had a tummy bug..."
(Women's World Cup: England v France, 2015 pg28)

The use of referring to Fran Kirby's illness as a 'tummy bug' and that England have done their homework, this connotes a younger more infantile image of the women further enforcing the use of the label girl framing them as children. The phrase 'doing their homework' is a sporting term, but when put into the context alongside other infantilising comments it changes the meaning of the phrase. New ways of confirming and re-establishing the different versions of the term 'girl' are emphasised in this way, (Jeanes, 2011; McRobbie, 2008) by using other ways to use infantilisation.

When the men are referred to in a stereotypically infantilising way, it is also teamed with comments that promote a masculine image. As seen here with a description of Phil Jones in their last group match against Costa Rica:

"That's where he's very strong. Quick across the ground Phil Jones, powerful lad"

(MOTD Fifa World Cup replay: England v Costa Rica, 2014 pg18)

The term 'lad', even though it hints toward a younger image, is teamed with the word 'powerful' that gives him a masculine image. Another example of this is when the commentators talk about Luke Shaw:

"Very quick, Luke Shaw. Also strong and powerful for such a young boy" (MOTD Fifa

World Cup replay: England v Costa Rica, 2014 pg15)

The praise used here whilst also being called a boy is different to how the women are referred to as girls. The praise that the men get when their youth is mentioned is vastly different to when the women are referred to as girls. The term girl is rarely used to describe their age and is mainly used to talk about them as a collective. Discourses within football allow men to be described in different ways to women in football (Jeanes, 2011). The emphasis here in the match against Uruguay is on the importance of the, new, younger players:

"Again, it's looking to the future, it's the young guns that have come on to make a real difference." (MOTD Fifa World Cup replay: England v Uruguay, 2014 pg32)

The label used here is 'young guns', but it is used more as a tool of inclusion (Richardson, 2009). Infantilisation is known to be used less against men than women, but it is how it is used that makes the difference. 'Young guns' represents a strong image but 'girls' does not showing the power words have in sporting contexts (Bigler and Leaper, 2015). This use of language highlights how language can be used to reaffirm power relations between groups of people, in this instance between men and women footballers (Wolter, 2015; Fairclough, 1995). The commentary represented the women's lives in a way that sets them as inferior to men. The added feminization of terms such as 'girl' set to reaffirm the domination of masculinities in football further.

The realization that there are a number of different aspects that work towards a different narrative between the men's and women's game effects the gender gap between the two games. The use of the feminine narrative takes focus away from the women's sporting success whereas the masculine narrative leaves the focus on the match. Football is the same sport for both men and women, but it is repeatedly labelled women's football and just football for the men (Amos, 2016). The use of personal stories verses the masculine narrative present in the men's matches adds to them, being represented as separate sports. Infantilisation only seeks to add to this notion of women's football being different to men's. All three add towards the ideological impact of creating separate narratives for men's and women's football; creating discourses that are distributed throughout society to widen the distance between the two (Russell, 1997; Free, 2005; Harris, 2001). The commentary in women's football needs to adapt with the sport, in challenging stereotypical ideologies and discourses that are only going to widen the gender gap between men's and women's football further.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This study focused on the commentary of the men's and women's World Cup. Previous studies had found that there has been differences in the type of media coverage, newspaper articles, and magazine stories, this same ideology was used with respect to football commentary (Billings et al, 2002; Christopherson et al, 2002; Black and Fielding-Lloyd, 2017; Barnet, 2013). This is why commentary was the main focus of my study, as it looked into the impact gender had on the commentary.

One of the biggest findings from the data was the embodiment of football as the traditional sport for men. This was done by referencing the historical past of men's football compared to the recent history of the women's game. Information about the women was limited to more recent history, describing their success in the league in England, and to their England statistics. The men's matches drew on games from previous World Cup tournaments to add information into the commentary mentioning names that everyone knows and dates of previous success or failures. The traditions and the norm for the UK is to idolise men's football, but this allows women's football to be sidelined (Crolley and Teso, 2007). The history of women's football is seen to be not as extensive as the men's, which is not the case, highlighting the supposed lack of history to the viewer. Therefore, in the women's commentary stories had to be told to get the viewer up to speed on information such as league standings and previous tournaments.

The lack of supposed history around the women's matches also allowed for comparisons of the women players to the men to be used. Jill Scott was repeatedly compared to Peter Crouch, and Fran Kirby as a 'mini Messi' (Women's World Cup: England v France, 2015; Women's World Cup: England v Mexico, 2015). Because of the perceived lack of knowledge of women football, women in the game are compared to other men. Mark Sampson's ownership of the women's England team allowed for their success to become his, showcasing the control men still have over women's football (Kristiansen et al, 2014). This was done by commentators using terms such as 'his team' and

'his players' (Women's World Cup: England v Mexico, 2015 pg1; Women's World Cup: England v Colombia, 2015 pg36). References to men in the women's game strengthens the notion of men's dominance in football.

The continued use of a narrative that compares women's matches and men's, sets women's football further apart. Society has portrayed sport as a men's activity because it allows men to explore their masculinities and hinders women's femininity (Anderson, 2002; Duncan et al, 1990), hence the creation of the feminine narrative. Gendered practices that define masculinity and femininity affect the culture of football in these ways of storytelling (Connell, 2005; Jones, 2008). The main focus of the feminine narrative is looking at how personal stories of family, loss and emotion create the feminine image of the women's team. One of the major stories that was focused on was of From Kirby's loss of her mother, and how that affected her and her career in football (Women's World Cup: England v Mexico, 2015 pg1; Taylor, 2015b). The 'girl-appealing' qualities and emotional ties, take the focus away from their sporting achievements (Kim, 2009). The men's commentary focusses on the match, having large sections dedicated to what is happening in front of them. These make up the masculine qualities that make the sport appear more appropriate for men (Kim, 2009; Wolter, 2015). These masculine qualities also add to men's football being the nation's favourite sport. Personal stories used in the women's matches aren't stereotypically connected with notions of nationhood; strength and aggression is (Free, 2005). Tackling this will start the transform women's football to be the same standing, as the men's, as the nation's favourite sport.

Men's and women's football are the same sport, therefore there shouldn't be any major stylistic differences in how they are represented. The findings in this study show that they are treated like two different sports; this only seeks to intensify the gender gap between them both. This Girl Can understood that behaviour change needs to happen in the whole of society for women's sport to be represented on equal terms with men's sport (Sport England, 2016). Therefore, representing men's and women's football as separate sports will intensify the gap between the two. The stylistic

differences found in this study will help to focus what needs addressing first, for example, starting with stopping the label 'girl' being used to address women. This project helped to understand which aspects in the media need tackling first in order to change behaviour for the rest of society to accept women into sports such as football.

5.1 Limitations

The limitations of the research from a methodological approach focus on the sample size of the data. Using just one set of World Cup matches focused too much on one era of football in England, and while the continuity between time frames helped the data analysis and the logistics of collecting a pool of data, it would have been more comprehensive to look at a number of other tournaments. Cross referencing different tournaments, such as the 2007/2011 women's World Cup and 2006/2010 Men's World Cup tournaments, could have opened up an avenue to be able to analyse a trend through different time frames to track the progress that has been made in recent times. Encompassing other tournaments such as the Euros could have added more clarity to the gender issues found in this study as they are very close in proximity, making it interesting to see if there was similar or very different findings between the two different tournaments.

5.2 Further research

The relationship between sport and society affects the way sports such as football are represented because of their 'dynamic reciprocal relationship' (Messner and Cooky, 2009). Constructed categories, such as masculinity within football, hold a lot of cultural significance and are seen as problematic to challenge (Maingueneau, 1999; Fielding-Lloyd and Mean, 2016). In order to move on from this study analysing a number of other tournaments would help to establish a trend throughout each tournament. The corresponding media that represented the match could also be used to cross reference the live match commentary to the mediated match reports. The use of language allows the media to affect how sports are represented and redistributed (Wolter, 2015); therefore continuing the analysis on how language is used is key to understanding what is causing

and reproducing cultural norms that affect women's football in a negative way today.

5.3 Final Thoughts

Men's dominance in football is woven into all aspects of the game and even though every set of commentary needs a structured narrative to tell the story of a match so that the commentary is as appealing and engaging as possible, this ends up creating differences between men's and women's match commentary (Barnfield, 2013). Women's football has already come a long way but feminine aspects in the commentary have the ability to set the women's game further apart from men's, rather than closer. Masculine qualities are associated with football, therefore dominating the women's coverage with notions of femininity has the potential to extend the differences between the two. Language is a powerful tool, finding the balance of growing the women's game while also keeping the nation's strong image of football, is a difficult task to undertake. Therefore, following on from this research to further look into how language is used in relation to the representation of women's football in England.

The social identities related to football have been built up around gendered norms. Gendered ideologies enforce a male dominated image made up of the norms associated with aspects of masculinity such as power and strength (Williams and Hess, 2015; Engh, 2011). Masculine culture that embody aspects such as violence and competitiveness are more dominant within a footballing environment (Skelton, 2000; Francis, 1999). Personal stories are traditionally relatable to women in the recognition of their roles as wives and mothers, this has helped to widen the gap between men's and women's football by using narrative techniques that reproduce stereotypical beliefs. Elements in each narrative style appeal to men and women, therefore creating different styles when narrating men's and women's events has prevailed as the norm.

The creation of the English Football Association Women's Super League (FA WSL) in 2011 was a

major part of the increase in popularity of women's football. England has in the past hosted the European Football Championships in 2005, and even though England were eliminated in the group stages, the tournament had made a huge step forward for women's football in the UK (Harlow, 2005). By England hosting such an event, it gave the women's game a higher profile, and gave it a platform to showcase the sport. With the creation of the FA WSL, it was as if women's football were going to be 'taken seriously' for the first time, even though the top players in the women's league would be paid nowhere near as much as the men, the women have been given their own platform to showcase their sport (Woodward, 2017).

If male footballers are still classified as creating the standard for women footballers to meet, they will be continuing to be considered the 'second sex' in football (Black and Fielding-Lloyd, 2017; Pfister, 2013). 'Language reflects and reinforces the patriarchal society in which we live in and helps maintain the secondary status of women' (Crolley and Teso, 2007). The traditions and the history that surround the game in England make the domination of men in football to be the norm. Now that the women's game is on the rise again, the problem is where does it fit in this male dominated arena and with the possession of the game being so dominated in the culture, language and image of the game. If the women are being compared directly to their counterparts in the men's game, there is a reiteration of the inferior place women are with no role models of their own.

Women's football has been subjected to set back long after 1921 after the FA banned women from playing in FA grounds. This has also affected the amount of role models women and girls can aspire to. Football history is mainly thought of as being male, therefore changing this discourse of football being male is how more women role models can enter the football field. Tendencies from the media to continue gender discourses expands these cultural differences between men's and women's football (Pfister, 2015). Inequity such as this is not helped by the underrepresentation of significant role models for women's football (Black and Fielding-Lloyd, 2017). This allows for the continuation of commentators to orientate more to using male to female comparison as there are seemingly no women to compare them against.

This Girl Can highlighted that behaviour change is needed, specifically in football, behaviour needs to change regarding the women's game. Changing dominant discourses is difficult to do, but with projects that specifically look into what can be tackled first, there is a chance to change the power relations that are still present in football today and to improve the standing of women's sport across the board. If the women's game is to be equal to the men's, promoting the knowledge of the game in other places other than the commentary needs to take place. The same sense of urgency and notion of tradition needs to be used in both arenas, until then the men's game will dominate.

References

- Amos, O., (2016). *Women versus ladies football: Does the name matter?*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-37552890> [Accessed 02 07 2017].
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso
- Anderson, E., (2002). Openly gay athletes: Contesting hegemonic masculinity in a homophobic environment. *Gender & society*, 16(6), pp.860-877.
- Andrews, D., (1993). Desperately seeking Michel: Foucault's genealogy, the body, and critical sport sociology. *Sociology of sport journal*, 10(1) 148-167.
- Bairner, A., (2014). Emotional grounds: Stories of football, memories, and emotions. *Emotion, space and society*, 12(1) 18-23.
- Barnett, B., (2013). The babe/baby factor: Sport, women, and mass media. *Routledge handbook of sport communication*, 350-358.
- Barnfield, A., (2013). Soccer, broadcasting, and narrative: On televising a live soccer match. *Communication and sport*, 1(4) 326-341.
- Bartky, S. L. (1998). Foucault and femininity, and the modernization of patriarchal power. New York, 25-45.
- Baudrillard, J., (1995). *The gulf war did not take place*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- BBC (2015). Sport England: Women lead increase in sport participation. [Online] Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/35061399> [Accessed 4th September 2017]
- BBC (2016). *BBC and BT Sport extend FA Cup rights until 2021*. [Online] Available at:

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/get-inspired/38800380>[Accessed 2nd July 2017].
BBC (2017). *BBC to show women's super league on spring series*. [Online] Available at:

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/football/39556657> [Accessed 2nd July 2017].

Berger, A., (2016). A discourse on discourse studies. *Soccer in Society*, 53(1) 597-602.

Bien-Aime, S., (2016). AP stylebook normalizes sports as a male space. *Newspaper research Journal*, 37(1), 44-57.

Bigler, R. and Leaper, C., (2015). Gendered language: Psychological principles, evolving practices and inclusive policies. *Policy insights from the behavioural and brain sciences*, 2(1) 187- 194.

Billings, A., Halone, K. and Denham, B., (2002). "Man, that was a pretty shot": An analysis of gendered broadcast commentary surrounding the 2000 men's and women's NCAA final four basketball champs. *Mass communication and society*, 5(3) 295-315.

Billings, A.C., Butterworth, M.L., and Turman, P.D. (2012). *Communication and sport: Surveying the field*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Birrell, S. and Therberge, N., (1994). Ideological control of women in sport. *Women and Sport: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, 341-359.

Biscomb K and Griggs G (2012). 'A splendid effort!' Print media reporting of England's women's performance in the 2009 Cricket World Cup. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 48(1) pp. 99–111.

Black, J. and Fielding-Lloyd, B., (2017). Re-establishing the 'outsiders': English press coverage of the 2015 FIFA women's World Cup. *International review for the sociology of sport*, 1(1), pp. 1-20.

Boyle, R. and Haynes, R., (2004). *Football in the new media age*. 1st ed. London: Routledge.

Boyle, R., (2010). Sport and the media in the UK: the long revolution. *Sport in society*, 13(9) 1300-1313.

Brennan, P., (2007). *The Munitionettes: a history of women's football in North East England during the Great War*. 1st ed. Rowlands Gill: Donmouth publishing.

Bruce, T. (1998). Audience frustration and pleasure: Women viewers confront televised women's basketball. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 22(1) 373-397

Bryson, L. (1987). 'Sport and the Maintenance of Masculine Hegemony', *Women's Studies International Quarterly*, 10(1) 349-60.

Bryson, L. (1990). 'Challenges to male hegemony in sport'. *Human Kinetics*. 173- 184.

Bryson L. (2003). Sport and the maintenance of masculine hegemony. *Sport: Critical Concepts in Sociology*. London: Routledge, 305-323.

Butler, J. (1998). Athletic genders: hyperbolic instance and/or the overcoming of sexual binarism, *Stanford humanities review*, 6 (2).

Burr, V. (1995). *An Introduction to Social Constructionism*. London, Routledge.

Cahn, S. K., (1994). *Coming on strong: Gender and sexuality in twentieth century women's sport*. New York: The free press.

Campbell, P., (2013). *David Beckham - a career in goals*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/football/blog/2013/may/16/david-beckham-career-goals> [Accessed 29 December 2017].

Campos, C., (2010). Beating the bounds: The Tour de France and national identity. *The international journal of the history of sport*, 20(2), pp. 149-174.

Carillo, M., and Deford, F. (1999). Dare to compete: The struggle of women's sport. *United states*,

Home box office.

Carrington, B. (1998). 'Football's coming home' but whose home? And do we want it? Nation, football and the politics of exclusion. Routledge, London 101-123

Carrington, B. and McDonald, I. (2001). 'Race', sport and British society, London: Routledge.

Cashmore, E. and Parker, A. (2003). One David Beckham? Celebrity, masculinity, and the soccerachi. *The sociology of sport journal*. 20 (3) 214-231

Caudwell, J. (1999). Women's football in the United Kingdom: Theorizing gender and unpacking the butch lesbian image. *Journal of sport and social issues*. 23 (4), 390-402.

Caudwell, J. (2002). 'Women's experiences of sexuality within football contexts: A particular and located footballing epistemology'. *Football Studies*. 5 (3) 24-45.

Caudwell, J. (2007). Queering the Field? The complexities of sexuality within a lesbian-identified football team in England. *Gender, Place and Culture*. 14(2), pp.183-196.

Caudwell, J., (2009). Girlfight and bend it like Beckham: Screening women, sport, and sexuality. *Journal of lesbian studies*, 13(3) 255-271.

Caudwell, J., (2011). Gender feminism and football studies. *Soccer and society*, 12(3) 330-344.

Christopherson, N., Janning, M. and McConnell, E.D. (2002). 'Two kicks forward, one kick back: A content analysis of media discourses on the 1999 Women's World Cup soccer championship', *Sociology of Sport Journal*. 19(1) 170-88.

Clark, S. and Paechter, C., (2007). 'Why can't girls play football?' gender dynamics and the playground. *Sport, education and society*, 12(3) 261-276.

Coakley, J. (2014). *Sports in society: Issues & controversies*. New York: McGraw-Hill Higher

Education.

Cockburn, C., and Clarke, G. (2002). Everybody's looking at you! Girls negotiating the femininity deficit" they incur in physical education, *Women's studies international forum*, 25 (1) 651-665.

Coffey, A. and Atkinson, P., (1996). Concepts and coding. Making sense of qualitative data: Complementary research strategies, 26-53.

Connell, R.W. (1983). Which way is up? Essays on sex, class and culture. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Connell, R.W. (2005). *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2(1).

Cooky, C., Messenger, M. and Musto, M., (2015). "It's Dude Time!": A Quarter Century of Excluding Women's Sports in Televised News and Highlight shows. *Communication and Sport*, 3(3) 261-287.

Cooky, C., Messner, M. and Hextrum, R., (2013). Women play sport, but not on TV: A longitudinal study of televised news media. *Communication and sport*, 1(3) 203-230.

Costa, D. M., and Guthrie, S. (1994). Feminist perspectives: Intersections with women and sport. 235-252

Craig, P., and Beedie, P., (2008). Class and gender differentiation in sport. *Sport Sociology*, 99-103

Crolley, L., and Hand, D.,. (2006). Football and European Identity: Historical Narratives Through the Press. London: Routledge.

Crolley, L. and Teso, E., (2007). Gendered narratives in Spain. *International review for the sociology of sport*, 42(2) 149-166.

Daddario, G., (1997). Gendered sports programming: 1992 summer Olympic coverage and the feminine narrative form. *Sociology of sport journal*, 1(14) 103-120.

- Derry, J. (2002). Single-sex and coeducation physical education: perspectives of adolescent girls and female physical education teachers, *Melpomene journal*, 21 (3) 21-28
- Desmarais, F. and Bruce, T., (2010). The power of stereotypes: Anchoring images through language in live sports broadcast. *Journal of language and social psychology*, 29(3) 338- 362.
- Donovan, T. (2003). A changing culture? Interrogating the dynamics of peer affiliations over the course of a sport education season. *European physical education review*, 9(3) 237-251.
- Duncan, M.C., Messner, M., and Williams, L. (1990). Gender stereotyping in televised sports. Los Angeles: Amateur Athletic Foundation.
- Eastman, S. and Billings, A. (2000). 'Sportcasting and Sports Reporting: The Power of Gender Bias', *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 24(2) 192–213.
- Eckert, P. and McConnell-Ginet, S., (2003). *Language and Gender*. 2nd Edition ed. Cambridge: University press.
- Edensor, T., (2002). National identity, popular culture and everyday life. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Edwards, L., Davis, P. and Forbes, A., (2015). Challenging sex segregation: A philosophical evaluation of the football association's rule on mixed football. *Sport, ethics and philosophy*, 9(4) 389-400.
- Elueze, R. and Jones, R.L. (1998). 'A Quest for Equality: A Gender Comparison of the BBC's TV Coverage of the 1995 World Athletics Championships', *Women in Sport and Physical Activity Journal* 7(1) 45–67.
- Engh, M., (2011). 'Tackling Femininity: The Heterosexual Paradigm and Women's Soccer in South Africa', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28(3) 137.
- Entman, R. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *The Journal of*

Communication, 43(4) 51–58.

EUFA (2017). *Women's football across the national associations 2016/2017*. Available at:

https://www.uefa.com/MultimediaFiles/Download/OfficialDocument/uefaorg/Women'sfootball/02/43/13/56/2431356_DOWNLOAD.pdf [Accessed 9 March 2019]

Everbach, T. (2008). Still in the minor leagues: A comparison of women's sports coverage in female and male-edited newspaper sports sections. *Southwest Mass Communications Journal* 23(2) 55–68.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media discourse*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Fairclough, N. and Wodak, R. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In T. A. van Dijk (ed.) *Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Fenton, S., (2016). *Rio 2016: The charts which show how bad sexism is for female athletes; Sports commentators consistently refer to female athletes as 'girls' or 'ladies' much more than they call male athletes 'boys' or 'gentlemen'*. London: The Independent.

Fielding-Lloyd, B. and Mean, L., (2011). 'I don't think I can catch it': women, confidence and responsibility in football coach education. *Soccer and society*, 12(3) 345-364.

Fielding-Lloyd, B. and Mean, L., (2016). Women training to coach men's sport: Managing gendered identities and masculinist discourses. *Communication and sport*, 4(4) 401-423.

FIFA World Cup 2014 Live: Costa Rica v England (2014) [television] ITV. 24 June, 16:00 Available from <https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/pndemand/index.php/prog/073EB75F> [Accessed 17 Aug 2017]

Flintoff, A., Braham, and Scraton, S. (1995). "Stepping into aerobics". *Leisure Cultures*: Brighton, Leisure Studies Association.

- Forbes, A., Edwards, L. and Flemming, S., (2015). 'Women can't referee': exploring the experiences of female football officials within UK football culture. *Soccer and society*, 16(4) 521-539.
- Foucault M (1994). The ethics of care for the self as the practice of freedom. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1–20.
- Foucault, M. (1998). The History of Sexuality Volume 1: The Will to Knowledge Penguin: London
- Foucault, M., (1980). Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977. New York: Pantheon.
- Francis, B. (1999). Football approach risks an own goal, *Times Educational Supplement*, (4)9.
- Free, M., (2005). Keeping them under pressure: Masculinity, narratives of national regeneration and the Republic of Ireland soccer team. *Sport in history*, 25(2) 265-288.
- Gibbons, T., (2011). English national identity and the national football team: the view of contemporary English fans. *Soccer and society*, 12(6) 865-879.
- Gibbons, T., (2015). Fan debates on English national identity surrounding the Almunia case. *Soccer and society*, 16(3) 344-359.
- Giddens, A., (2001). Sociology. 4th Edition. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Giulianotti, R., (1999). Football: A Sociology of the Global Game, Cambridge: Polity
- Giulianotti, R., (2002). Supporters, flowers, fans, and flaneurs: A taxonomy of spectator identities in football. *Journal of sport and social issues*, 26(1) 25-46.
- Gong, Y., (2015). Online discourse of masculinities in transnational football fandom: Chinese Arsenal fans' talk around 'gaofushuai' and 'diaosi'. *Discourse and society*, 27(1) 20-37.

Gray, W., (2017). *The epic centre of the Lions*. London: NZ Rugby World.

Greer, J. and Jones, A., (2013). Beyond figure skating and hockey: How U.S. audiences gender type winter Olympic sports. *The international journal of sport and society*, 3(1) 129-140.

Hall, M. A. (1996). *Feminism and sporting bodies: essays on theory and practice* (Champaign, IL, Human Kinetics)

Hall, S., (1980). Encoding, decoding. *The cultural studies reader*, 1(1) 89-103.

Hansen, K., (1999). Making women visible: Gender and race cross-dressing in the Paris theatre. *Theatre Journal*, 51(2) 127-147.

Hardin, M., Whiteside, E. and Ash, E., (2012). Ambivalence on the front lines? Attitudes toward Title XI and women's sports among division I sports information directors. *International review for the sociology of sport*, 49(1) 42-64.

Hargreaves, J. (1986). *Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain*. New York: St Martins Press.

Harlow, P., (2005). *FA hails Euro 2005 as big success*. Available at:
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/sport1/hi/football/women/4087208.stm> [Accessed 4 January 2006].

Harrington, L., (2005). Social role theory and the perceived gender role orientation of athletes. *Sex Roles*, 52(3), pp. 227-236.

Harris, J., (2001). Playing the man's game: Sites of resistance and incorporation in the women's football. *World leisure journal*, 43(3) 22-29.

Harris, J., and Clayton, B., (2004). Footballers' wives: The role of the soccer player's partner in the construction of idealized masculinity. *Soccer & Society* 5(3) 317-335.

- Harrison, J., and Woods, L., (2001). Defining European public service broadcasting. *European Journal of Communication* 16(4) 477–504.
- Hess, R., (2000). 'Ladies are specially invited': women in the culture of Australian Rules football. *The international journal of the history of sport*, 17(3) 111-141.
- Hey, V. (1997). *The company she keeps: an ethnography of girls' friendships* (Buckingham, Open University Press).
- Hills, L. (2007). Friendship, physicality, and physical education: An exploration of the social embodied dynamics of girls. *Physical education experiences, sport, education and society*, 12(3) 317-336.
- Hills, L., and Croston, A. (2012). It should be better all together: Exploring strategies for 'undoing' gender in co-educational physical education in sport. *Education and society*, 17(5) 591-605.
- Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. eds., (2012). *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hughson, J. & Poulton, E., (2008). 'This is England': sanitized fandom and the national soccer team. *Soccer and society*, 9(4) 509-519.
- Inspired, G., (2017). *This Girl Can: Award-winning exercise-participation campaign returns*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/get-inspired/38800380> [Accessed 02 07 2017].
- Jackson, A., (2010). The Chelsea chronicle. *Soccer & Society*, 11(5), pp. 506-521.
- Jackson, P., (1994). *Constructions of race, place, and nation*. U of Minnesota Press.
- Jeanes, R., (2011). 'I'm into high heels and make up but I still love football': exploring gender

- identity and football participation with preadolescent girls. *Soccer and society*, 12(3) 402-420.
- Jeanes, R., Hills, L., and Kay, T., (2016). Women, sport and gender inequality. Sage, London. 134- 149
- Jones, A. and Greer, J., (2001). You don't look like an athlete: Effects of feminine appearance on audience perceptions of female athletes and women's sport. *Journal of sport behaviour*, 34(4) 358-377.
- Jones, C. and Edwards, L., (2013). The woman in black: Exposing sexist beliefs about female officials in elite men's football. *Sport, Ethics and Philosophy* 7 (2) 202–16.
- Jones, K., (2008). Female fandom: Identity, sexism, and men's professional football in England. *Sociology of sport journal*, 25(1) 516-537.
- Jorgensen, M. and Phillips, L., (2002). *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. 1 ed. London: SAGE.
- Kane, M. (1988). Media coverage of the female athlete before, during, and after Title IX: *Sports Illustrated* revisited. *Journal of Sport Management*, 2(1) 87–99.
- Kane, M. J., LaVoi, N. and Fink, J., (2013). Exploring elite female athletes' interpretations of sport media images: A window into the construction of social identity and "selling sex" in women's sports. *Communication and sport*, 1(3) 269-289.
- Kellett, P., (2002). Football-as-was, coach-as-general: Analogy, metaphor and management implications. *Football Studies*, 5(1), pp. 60-76.
- Kennedy, E., (2000). "You talk a good game": Football and masculine style on British television. *Men and masculinities*, 3(1) 57-84.

- Kim, H., (2009). Women's games in Japan: Gender identity and narrative construction. *Theory, culture and society*, 26(3) 165-188.
- King, C., (2004). Race and cultural identity: Playing the race game inside football. *Leisure studies*, 23(1) 19-30.
- Knapp, B., (2013). Garters on the gridiron: A critical reading of lingerie football league. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 50(2) 141-160.
- Koivula, N., (2011). Perceived characteristics of sports categorized as gender-neutral, feminine and masculine. *Journal of Sport Behaviour*. 24(1) 337–393.
- Krane, V., (2001). We can be athletic and feminine, but do we want to? Challenging hegemonic femininity on women's sport. *Quest*, pp. 115-133.
- Krane, V., Choi, P., Baird, S., Aimar, C., and Kauer, K., (2004). Living the paradox: Female athletes negotiate femininity and muscularity. *Sex Roles* 50(1) 315–329.
- Kristiansen, E., Broch, T. and Pedersen, P., (2014). Negotiating gender in professional soccer: An analysis of female Footballers in the United States. *SMIJ*, 10(1) 5-27.
- Kuo, S. H., (2003). Involvement vs Detachment: Gender differences in the use of personal pronouns in televised sports in Taiwan. *Discourse Studies*, 5(4) 479-494.
- Larson, J.F., and Rivenburgh, N.K., (1991). A comparative analysis of Australian, US, and British telecasts of the Seoul Olympic opening ceremony. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 35(1) 75-94.
- Lasorsa, D., (2012). Transparency and other journalistic norms on Twitter: The role of gender. *Journalism Studies* 13(3) 402–417.

- Lebel, K. and Danylchuk, K., (2009). Generation Y's perceptions of women's sport in the media. *International journal of sport communication*, 2(1) 146-163.
- Lee, J., (1992). Media portrayals of male and female Olympic athletes: Analyses of newspaper accounts of the 1984 and the 1988 summer games. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 27(3) 197-219.
- Licen, S. and Billings, A., (2013). Cheering for 'our' champs by watching 'sexy' female throwers: Representation of nationality and gender in Slovenian 2008 Summer Olympic television coverage. *European Journal of Communication*, 28(4) 370-396.
- Light, R., (2007). Re-examining hegemonic masculinity: The body, compliance and resistance. *Quest*, 59 (3) August, pp.323-339.
- Lippe, G., (2002). Media Image. *International review for the sociology of sport*, 37(3) 371-395.
- Lober, J., (1994). "Night to his day": The social construction of gender. 1(1) 13-36.
- Lorber, J., (1994). *Paradoxes of Gender*. New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Mackenzie, L., (2004). Incremental functional grammar and the language of football commentary. 1(1) 113-128.
- Maingueneau, D., (1999). Analysing self-constituting discourses. *Discourse studies*, 1(2) 175-199.
- Majendie, M., (2015). *London marathon 2015: Paula Radcliffe and the mother of all goodbyes*.
[Online] Available at: <http://www.independant.co.uk/sport/general/athletics/london-marathon-2015-paula-radcliffe-and-the-mother-of-all-goodbyes-1024114.html> [Accessed 1 December 2017].
- Markula, P., (2003). The technologies of the self: Sport, feminism, and Foucault. *Sociology of sport*

journal, 20(1) 87-107.

Marschik, M., (2003). Frauenfussball und Maskulinität. [Women's Football and Masculinity].

Münster: Lit

Mason, M., (2017). *Foucault and his panopticon*. [Online] Available at:

<http://www.moyak.com/papers/michel-foucault-power.html> [Accessed 8 October 2017].

Matthews, C., (2014). Biology ideology and pastiche hegemony. *Men and masculinities*, 17(2) 99-119.

McCombs, M. (2004). *Setting the Agenda: the mass media and public opinion*, Cambridge: Polity.

McDowell, J. and Schaffner, S., (2011). Football, it's a man's game: Insult and Gendered discourse in The Gendered Bowl. *Discourse and Society*, 547-564.

McFarland, A., (2006). Ricardo Zamora: The first Spanish football idol. *Soccer and Society*, 7(1), pp. 1-13.

McNay, L., (1999). Gender, habitus and the field: Pierre Bourdieu and the limits of reflexivity. *Theory, culture & society*, 16(1) 95-117.

McRobbie, A., (2008). *The Aftermath of Feminism*. London: Sage.

Mean, L. and Halone, K., (2010). Sport, language and culture: Issues and Intersections. *Journal of language and social psychology*, 29(3) 253-260.

Mennesson, C., (2009). Being a man in dance: socialization modes and gender identities. *Sport in society*, 12(2) 174-195.

Messner, M., (1990). When bodies are weapons. *International review for the sociology of sport*, 25(1), pp. 201-220.

Messner, M., Duncan, M. C. and Jensen, K., (1993). Separating the men from the girls: The gendered language of televised sports. *Gender and society*, 7(1) 121-137.

Moore, G., (2015). Singing managers and the 'lady Wayne Rooney' – The other football World Cup. *The Independent*, 6 June, 8.

MOTD: Fifa World Cup Replay: England v Italy (2014). [television] BBC2. 15 June, 06:05 Available from <https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/073E0FB7> [Accessed 17 Aug 2017]

MOTD: Fifa World Cup Replay: England v Uruguay (2014). [television] BBC2. 20 June, 01:05 Available from <https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/073E40A5> [Accessed 17 Aug 2017]

Nash, M., (2016). Selling health and fitness to sporty sisters: A critical feminist multi-modal discourse analysis of the Lorna Jane retail website. *Sociology of sport journal*, 33(1) 219-229.

Nayak, A., (2003). 'Boyz to men': masculinities, schooling and labour transitions in de-industrial times. *Educational review*, 55(2) 147-159.

Nelson, M. B., (1994). The stronger women get, the more men love football: Sexism and the American culture of sports. New York.

Newsham G.J., (1997). In a League of their Own!: The Dick Kerr Ladies Football Team. London: Scarlet.

O'Neill, D. & Mulready, M., (2015). The invisible woman?. *Journalism practice*, 9(5) 651-668.

Pannick, D. 1983. Sex discrimination in sport. Equality Opportunities Commission: Manchester

- Parkinson, H., (2015). *Stop calling women 'girls'. It's either patronising or sexually suggestive*.
[Online] Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jul/08/stop-calling-women-girls-its-either-patronising-or-sexually-suggestive.html> [Accessed 29 December 2017].
- Pfister, G., (2013). Women, football and European integration. Aims and questions, methodological and theoretical approaches. *Annales Kinesiologiae*, 4(1) 29-43.
- Pfister, G., (2015). Sportswomen in the German popular press: a study carried out in the context of the 2011 women's Football World Cup. *Soccer and society*, 16(6) 639-656.
- Pielichaty, H., (2015). 'It's like equality now; it's not if it's the old days': an investigation into gender identity development and football participation of adolescents. *Soccer and society*, 16(4) 493-507.
- Pinkus, J. (1996). Foucault. Available from <http://www.massey.ac.nz/~alock/theory/foucault.htm> [Accessed 17 May 2017].
- Pirinen, R.M., (1997). 'The Construction of Women's Positions in Sport: A Textual Analysis of Female Athletes in Finnish Women's Magazines', *Sociology of Sport Journal* 14(3) 283–301.
- Porter, M. E., (1980). *Competitive strategy*. New York: The Free Press.
- Pringle, R. and Markula, P., (2005). No pain is sane after all: A Foucauldian analysis of masculinities and men's experience in rugby. *Sociology of sport journal*, 22(1), pp. 472- 497.
- Richardson, L., (2009). Feminist frontiers: Gender stereotyping in the English language. *Representation, language and culture*, 1(8) 120-124.
- Roth, A., and Basow, S. (2004). Femininity, sports, and feminism: Developing a theory of physical

- liberation. *Journal of port and social issues*, 28(1) 245-265.
- Ross, S. and Shinew, K., (2008). Perspectives of women college athletes on sport and gender. *Sex roles*, 58(1) 40-57.
- Rouse, J., (2005). Power/Knowledge. *Philosophy Commons*, 1(1), pp. 1-20.
- Rowe, D., McKay, J. and Miller, T., (1998). Come together: Sport, nationalism, and the media image. *Media Sport*, 119-133.
- Russell, D., (1997). *Football and the English*. 1st ed. Preston: Carnegie Publishing.
- Sarantakos, S., (2005). *Social Research*. 3rd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Scruton, S., Caudwell, J. and Holland, S., (2005). 'Bend it like Patel'. *International review for the sociology of sport*, 40(1) 71-88.
- Scruton, S., Fasting, K., Pfister, G., and Bunuel, J., (1999). 'It's Still a Man's Game? The Experiences of Top Level European Women Footballers'. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*. 34(2) 99–112.
- Shaw, S. and Frisby, W. (2006). 'Can gender equity be more equitable? Promoting an alternative frame for sport management research, education, and practice. *Journal of sport management*, 20(1) 483-509
- Sipes, R., (1973). War, sports and aggression: An empirical test of two rival theories. *Suny*, 1(1), pp. 64-86.
- Skelton, C., (2000). 'A passion for football': Dominant Masculinities and Primary Schooling. *Sport, education and society*, 5(1) 5-18.
- Slocum-Bradley, N., (2009). The positioning diamond: A trans-disciplinary framework for discourse analysis. *Journal for the theory of social behaviour*, 40(1) 70-107.

Smith, A., (1998). *Nationalism and Modernism*. 1st ed. London: Routledge.

Snyder, E. and Purdy, D., (1982). Socialisation into sport: parent and child reverse and reciprocal effects. *Research quarterly for exercise and sport*, 53(4) 263-266.

Spaaij, R., (2008). Men Like Us, Boys Like Them: Violence, Masculinity, and Collective Identity in Football Hooliganism. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 32(4) 369-392

Spencer, D., (1980). *Man made language*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge.

Sport England (2015a). *Go where women are: As part of Women's Sport Week and ahead of the start of the second phase of This Girl Can, we published our new women's insight pack Go Where Women Are*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.sportengland.org/our-work/women/womens-insight-pack/> [Accessed 20 July 2017].

Sport England. (2015). *This girl can*: [online] London: Sport England. Available from: <https://www.sportengland.org/our-work/women/this-girl-can/> [Accessed 26 October 2016].

Sterkenburg, J. V. and Knoppers, A., (2004). Dominant discourses about race/ethnicity and gender in sport practice and performance. *International review for the sociology of sport*, 3(39) 301-321.

Stevenson, D., (2002). Women, sport, and globalization. *Journal of sport and social issues*, 26(2) 209-225.

Stibbe, A., (2004). Health and the social construction of masculinity in men's health magazine. *Men and Masculinities*, 7(1), pp. 31-51.

Szymanski, D., Moffitt, L. & Carr, E., (2011). Sexual objectification of women: Advances to theory and research. *The counselling psychologist*, 39(1) 6-38.

Tagg, B., (2008). 'Imagine, a man playing netball!': Masculinities and sport in New Zealand.

International review for the sociology of sport, 43(4) 409-430.

Talbot, M., (1998). *Language and Gender: and introduction*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: MPG books.

Taylor, D., (2014a). Italy's Mario Balotelli leaves England's Group D hopes in the balance: [online]

London: The Guardian. Available from:

<https://www.theguardian.com/football/2014/jun/15/england-italy-world-cup-2014-group-d-match-report> [Accessed 13 November 2016].

Taylor, D., (2014b). World Cup 2014: Uruguay sink England as Suárez makes his mark: [online]

London: The Guardian. Available from:

<https://www.theguardian.com/football/2014/jun/19/england-uruguay-match-report-group-d> [Accessed 13 November 2016].

Taylor, D., (2014c). England end disappointing World Cup with barren draw against Costa Rica:

[online] London: The Guardian. Available from:

<https://www.theguardian.com/football/2014/jun/24/costa-rica-england-world-cup-group-d-match-report> [Accessed 13 November 2016].

Taylor, L., (2015a). Women's World Cup 2015: England beaten by France in Group F opener:

[online] London: The Guardian. Available from:

<https://www.theguardian.com/football/2015/jun/09/france-england-womens-world-cup-group-f-match-report> [Accessed 13 November 2016].

Taylor, L., (2015b). Fran Kirby makes England pressure pay in World Cup win over Mexico: [online]

London: The Guardian. Available from:

<https://www.theguardian.com/football/2015/jun/13/england-mexico-womens-world-cup-match-report> [Accessed 13 November 2016].

- Taylor, L., (2015c). England qualify for last 16 of world cup with win over Colombia: [online]
London: The Guardian. Available from:
<https://www.theguardian.com/football/2015/jun/17/england-colombia-womens-world-cup-match-report> [Accessed 13 November 2016].
- The Football Times (2016). The continued rise of women's football. Available from:
<http://thesefootballtimes.co/2016/11/28/the-continued-rise-of-womens-football>
[Accessed 4th September 2017]
- Themen, K. and van Hoof, J., (2017). Kicking against tradition: women's football, negotiating friendships and social spaces. *Leisure studies*, 36(4) 542-552.
- Themen, K., (2016). Female football players in England: examining the emergence of third-space narratives. *Soccer and society*, 17(4) 433-449.
- This Girl Can, (2017). *Football*. [Online] Available at:
<http://www.thisgirlcan.co.uk/activities/football/?gclid=Cj0KCQjws-LKBRDCARIsAAOTNd5P-aX4GzaGChMh5pKU8dw745QHpEHTfkppsifrET4ZCg%E2%80%A6>
[Accessed 02 07 2017].
- Thorpe, H., (2008). Foucault, technologies of self, and the media: Discourses of femininity in snowboarding culture. *Journal of sport and social issues*, 32(2) 199-229.
- Tolson, A., (2016). 'Proper football people': Talking soccer on Sky Sports News. *Discourse, context and media*, 11(1) 12-18.
- Valentine, G. (2004). *Public Space and the Culture of Childhood*. Burlington: Ashgate.
- Varley, C., (2017). *Seven amazing stories about England's Lionesses*. [Online] Available at:

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/bbcthree/item/3e0aa85a-49ad-4758-9d73-742d8f89f35a>

[Accessed 27 November 2017].

- Vincent, J. et al., (2010). England expects: English newspapers' narratives about the English football team in the 2006 World Cup. *International review for the sociology of sport*, 45(2) 199-223.
- Waxman, S. R. (2013). Building a better bridge. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. 292-296.
- Weedon, C., (1987). Discourse, power, and resistance. *Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory*, 107-135.
- Wenner, L., (2014). Assessing the sociology of sport: On the mediasport interpellation and commodity narratives. *International review for the sociology of sport*, 50(5) 628-633.
- Wensing, E. and Bruce, T., (2003). Bending the rules. *International review for the sociology of sport*, 4(38) 387-396.
- Wheaton, B., (2000). "New lads"? Masculinities and the "New sport" participant. *Men and Masculinities*, 4(2), pp. 434-456.
- Wheaton, B., (2003). Lifestyle sport magazines and the discourses of sporting masculinity. *The editorial board of the sociological review*, 1(1) 193-221.
- Whelehan, I. (2000). *Overloaded: Popular Culture and the Future of Feminism*. London: The Women's Press
- Whitson, D., (1990). Sport in the social construction of masculinity. *Sport, men, and the gender order: Critical feminist perspectives*, 19-29.
- Whitson, D., Messner, M.A. and Sabo, D.F., (1990). *Sport, men, and the gender order: Critical feminist perspectives*.

- Williams, J. and Hess, R., (2015). Women, football and history: International perspectives. *The international journal of the history of sport*, 32(18) 2115-2122.
- Williams, J. and Woodhouse, J., (1991). Can play, will play? Women and football in Britain. Leicester University Press, 85–108.
- Williams, J., (2003). *A game for rough girls? A history of women's football in Britain*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
- Wolter, S., (2015). A critical discourse analysis of espnW: Divergent dialogues and postfeminist conceptions of female fans and female athletes. *International journal of sport communication*, 8(1) 345-370.
- Women's World Cup: England v Colombia (2015). [television] BBC3. 17 June, 20.30 Available from <https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/0A303FF3> [Accessed 17 August 2017]
- Women's World Cup: England v France (2015). [television] BBC2. 9 June, 17.30 Available from <https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/0A2C3FC4> [Accessed 17 August 2017]
- Women's World Cup: England v Mexico (2015). [television] BBC3. 13 June, 20.30 Available from <https://learningonscreen.ac.uk/ondemand/index.php/prog/0A302B73> [Accessed 17 Aug 2017]
- Woodward, K., (2017). Women's time? Time and temporality in women's football. *Sport in society*, 20(6) 689-700.
- Wrack, S. (2018). It is time for female footballers to be treated as equals. [Online] Available at:

<http://www.theguardian.com/football/2018/mar/13/time-for-female-footballers-to-be-treated-as-equals-phil-neville> [Accessed 3 November 2018].

Yiannakis, A., and Melnick, M.J. (2001). *Contemporary Issues in Sociology of Sport*. Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics.